NNOMY READER

Militarization of Our Schools and the Counter-recruitment Movement
The National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth

A compilation about the U.S. Counter-recruitment Movement - 2003 - 2025

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Introduction

The armored plated elephant in the room that few are willing to acknowledge is the historical and increasing presence of U.S. cultural militarism in our society including its expansion in our public schools. This reality is coloring everything from our policing to our entertainment offerings. The worse effect is the militarization of our children. Pentagon programs in our public schools have gone past the development and funding of militarized programs for adolescents like JROTC and Young Marines and have now introduced programs to integrate younger audiences to the correctness of militaristic values and to ultimately recruit them into military service.

The NNOMY Reader is a document comprised of the most relevant writings and subject areas that have come out of the U.S. based counter-recruitment movement of the last 25 years and reflect the primary challenges that have shaped this activism. The chosen writings were authored by principal contributors and activists of the U.S. based "CR movement" and reveal how they engaged to effect legislative protections, gain access to schools, and develop strategies to present a counter-narrative to recruitment age youth, different and more complete than that of military recruiters of the Department of Defense while working inside the confines of national laws, programs rules, and regulations.

The NNOMY Reader, does not include more extensive documents from the U.S. based counter-recruitment movement such as; Using Equal Access to Counter Militarism in High Schools, or addresses the many specific Department of Defense programs to militarize our youth like JROTC, DoD Starbase, or Young Marines, but represents a good selection of the larger subject areas that activists have "specialized" in to try to slow the process of militarization in U.S. public schools and the recruitment techniques of the Pentagon. Much of what is not represented in the NNOMY Reader is available on NNOMY's website at http://www.nnomy.org in our counter-recruitment, articles and document sections. There is much more funding, research, written analysis, and strategic activism needed to further explore and develop a more profound awareness of cultural militarization before there can be accomplished the strength of a movement that can turn the tide on the military's invasion upon our youth and our society. However, counter-recruitment and youth de-militarization is an ongoing activism where new ideas will be introduced and strategies applied in the communities and in the schools to offer alternatives to entering into the U.S. military and its ongoing wars.

Those who come to engage in the proactive peace work of counter-recruitment will play an important part in creating a different world by contributing with small and collective steps, to raise the awareness to students, parents, teachers, and all who believe that wars are the status quo of the dangers of the cultural militarization of our schools and youth, and how it threatens the foundations of a democratic society.

Steering Committee of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth

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Rick Jahnkow - National Counter-recruitment Movement Enters New Stage

Over 100 activists were present in Philadelphia the weekend of June 25-27, 2003 to officially christen the new National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY). Born from a proposal made at the "Stopping War Where It Begins" counter-recruitment conference held a year earlier in Philadelphia, NNOMY is an effort to bring together the growing number of organizations and activists who are working against the militarization of young people in communities across the country. Participating in this first NNOMY conference were people from California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Hawai'i, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

Most of the conference participants represented organizations that have officially become network members or are considering doing so. Approximately 30 local, regional and national groups have joined so far, some of which are: Veterans for Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Youth Activists/Youth Allies (NY City), Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, Pax Christi USA, CHOICES (D.C.), Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (San Diego), American Friends Service Committee, Madison Area Peace Coalition, Teen Peace in Port Townsend (WA), Los Angeles Coalition Opposed to Militarism in Our Schools, Not in Our Name, Resource Center for Non-violence in Santa Cruz (CA), and Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft. Additional memberships are pending from various other organizations.

To promote more effective networking and organizing, caucuses were formed at the conference around issue and identity themes, such as women in the military, Latinos, draft-related issues, rural organizing, people of color, youth of color and LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender, Questioning). To broaden representation in decision-making, caucuses were invited to apply for membership status that is equal to regular organizations, and some were included in a NNOMY steering committee. Ten organizations and six caucuses were unanimously approved for the steering committee, which will make between-meeting decisions that are subject to review by the larger body of voting network members. Also adopted was a proposal from the youth caucus to have at least two steering committee members younger than 25, and to pursue the goal of majority representation by both youth and people of color.

NNOMY will continue to grow and develop plans, but an immediate course was set at the conference to pursue two goals: facilitating further development of organizing and educational resources, and promoting regional training of counter-recruitment organizers. For the near future, conference participants volunteered to collaborate on some specific resource development projects, and regional caucuses met to discuss what they could do to carry out networking and training in their geographical areas. Progress in these and other areas will depend on additional post-conference communication, so the contact information for participants will be incorporated into the Stopping War email list that was established after the national conference held in 2003.

Caucuses will have their own communications networks and will, hopefully, continue to work on the special issues that brought them together.

One important facet of NNOMY is its commitment to including and supporting the various communities that are especially affected by military recruiting and the violence of militarism, including people who are victims of the military's homophobia. And since the conference dates overlapped with gay pride celebrations nationally, special materials were given to conference attendees on issues relating to militarism and sexual identity. An exciting music/spoken word event was also organized and hosted by the Attic Youth Center in Philadelphia, one of the few Queer youth centers in the country.

The NNOMY conference itself was co-hosted in Philadelphia by the American Friends Service Committee and Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors. Conference planning and other tasks were shared by a number of groups that had served as an ad hoc steering committee, but the AFSC Youth and Militarism Program office provided the bulk of the on-site resources and logistical support, including the Friends Center where the conference was held.

It was especially appropriate that the founding meeting of this network occurred in a city where some of the most important revolutionary events occurred in U.S. history and within days of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. While some of the decisions that went into the formation of the U.S. government over 200 years ago were tragically inconsistent with the ideals of liberty and justice for all, one thing that many of the country's founders got right was their perception that the growth and influence of a large military establishment would undermine civil society and progress toward democracy. Over the last 60 years, this lesson has been largely forgotten, and the traditional controls over the military that were once seen as necessary and even taken for granted have greatly eroded. In addition to the considerable influence that the Pentagon has over government decisions (including economic ones), our most important institutions of socialization, the public schools, are being overrun by people in uniform teaching military values, and popular culture is being saturated with messages that popularize soldiering and war. We are rapidly approaching a point where the long-term effects of militarization will be extremely difficult to reverse. A massive effort is needed to turn the trend around, and NNOMY is a crucial step in that direction.

The conference in Philadelphia was a time of sharing, discussing, strategizing and planning that left us at the end with an important opening to build a movement that speaks to the needs of constituencies that have traditionally not been reached very well by the U.S. peace movement. And because it focuses on interrupting the flow of human resources and challenging the mechanisms of propaganda that are needed to wage war, it is an effort that also offers people an effective way to move from war protest to war resistance, while at the same time working for long-term social transformation.

This article is from Draft NOtices, the newsletter of the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (http://www.comdsd.org)

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Jorge Mariscal - Youth Activists Demand Military-Free Schools

On the weekend of July 17, 2009, over 250 activists from across the country converged on Roosevelt University in Chicago for the largest meeting ever of counter-recruitment and anti-militarism organizers. Retirees from Florida and California, concerned parents from Ohio and Massachusetts, veterans from New Mexico and Oregon, grandmothers from

Texas and North Carolina joined with youth organizations such as New York's Ya-Ya's (Youth Activists-Youth Allies) and San Diego's Education Not Arms to consolidate a movement intent on resisting the increased militarization of U.S. public schools.

The building overlooking Lake Michigan vibrated with the positive energy of the diverse participants—people from different generations, regions, and ethnicities mixing together and exchanging stories about their struggle to demilitarize local schools. For many senior citizens from the East Coast this was the first time they had met much less learned from Chicana high school students who live in border communities near San Diego. For those relatively new to the counter-recruitment movement, the experience taught them more about the on-going process in which young people are increasingly subjected to military values and aggressive recruiting techniques.

Organized by the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY), an alliance of over 180 organizations, the conference included workshops and caucuses on a variety of subjects ranging from the role of class and culture in counter-recruiting, women in the military, and legislative approaches to challenging militarization.

The growth of the counter-recruitment movement benefited greatly from the Bush administration's slide into totalitarianism. While established organizations like Project YANO of San Diego and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Youth and Militarism program had been working for decades to demilitarize youth, the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001 for the first time alerted many to the insidious nature of military recruiting in schools. Many newcomers to the movement began with "opt-out" campaigns to protect students' privacy and then moved on to the issue of military aptitude tests (ASVAB) that are often administered covertly in school districts nationwide.

Although some activists during the Bush years saw counter-recruitment solely as an antiwar tactic, the participants at the NNOMY conference understood that militarism is an issue that must be confronted with long-term strategies. As many of them told me, it is less an issue of stopping current wars (although that is important) than it is of inhibiting the power of the military-corporate-educational complex with the goal of slowly transforming an interventionist and imperial foreign policy.

The symbolism of the conference location was especially important given that the Chicago public school district is the most heavily militarized district in the nation. The current Secretary of Education Arne Duncan was superintendent of the city's schools and oversaw the expansion of

JROTC and military academies. Today, Chicago has more academies and more JROTC cadets than any other city in the country. Under Duncan's leadership, it will more than likely become a model for the rest of the country.

As Sam Diener reported at the NNOMY conference, the National Defense Authorization Act of 2009 mandates that the military work to increase the number of schools with JROTC from the current total of about 3400 schools to 3700 schools by the year 2020 (a list of schools targeted for new units will be posted shortly on the Peacework Magazine website).

The larger context is alarming. The decades long defunding of public education, the resultant decline of K-12 systems across the country, and the growth of the charter school movement has produced a situation in which the Pentagon is free to wade into the wreckage with an offer many parents cannot refuse. In a classic shock doctrine maneuver, the military exerts increasing influence in public schools offering desperate parents programs that will teach their sons and daughters discipline and "leadership skills." As Gina Perez explained at the NNOMY meeting, working class youth with limited options, many of whom are active in their community churches, believe they can "make a difference" by joining JROTC.

Despite the Pentagon's denials, there is no question that militarized school programs operate as covert recruiting programs. Recent studies show that about 40% of all JROTC cadets end up enlisting in the military. Activists working in Georgia recently obtained school district documents that refer to the goal of creating "African American and Hispanic children soldiers." What the Pentagon hopes to produce, however, is not cannon fodder as an earlier Vietnam War-era analysis might suggest but rather an educated workforce able to complete the complex tasks of a well-oiled, increasingly high tech, military.

Given the difficulty recruiters have had finding enough high school graduates to fill their quotas, especially in those Latino communities that will provide the largest group of military-age youth for the foreseeable future, it makes sense that the military would attempt to create its own pipeline. If the public schools cannot turn out enough qualified potential recruits, the Pentagon will do it. Neoliberalism in the United States may not mean generals in the Oval Office. But it may mean children in military uniforms marching in formation at a school near you.

The model for this aspect of the militarist agenda is the Chicago public school system where for several years minority neighborhoods have seen the increasing encroachment of the military. Science teacher Brian Roa, who has written about the Chicago experience, described in a recent *Truthout* article how Mayor Daley and Superintendent Duncan oversaw the expansion of military academies. "One day the Navy occupied one floor of our school," Roa said at the NNOMY conference, "and before we knew it they had taken over the second and then the third floor."

At San Diego's Mission Bay High School, funding for college preparatory courses was decreased while the principal implemented plans for a Marine Corps JROTC complete with firing range for air rifle practice. Latino students created the Education Not Arms coalition and successfully convinced a majority on the San Diego Board of Education to ban rifle training at eleven high schools. Similar success stories were recounted last weekend all of which suggest that not only is militarism a high priority issue for the new century but also that youth activism is alive and well.

The fact that President Obama's daughters attend Quaker schools while his Secretary of Education oversees the expansion of military programs for working class children is one more glaring contradiction in Obamaland. The young people who attended the NNOMY conference are aware of the contradiction and left Chicago vowing that they will not passively stand by as their schools become centers for military indoctrination.

More information on the counter-recruitment movement is available at the NNOMY website: http://www.nnomy.org/

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Counter-recruitment

Rick Jahnkow - Counter-recruitment and School Demilitarization Activism: From Past Victories to the Challenges Ahead

Counter-recruitment and school demilitarization work in the U.S. has gone through several cycles of expansion and contraction during the last few decades. The first expansion was during the early 1980s when it was supported by a small number of national organizations, such as the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), War Resisters League, Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) and National Lawyers Guild. Most grassroots activities at the time were carried out by chapters of these organizations and a number of independent community peace groups (including COMD and, eventually, Project YANO).

Many counter-recruitment organizers in the 1980s came from the Vietnam-era anti-draft movement, so it was common for them to include draft counseling information as they also worked to counter the presence of military recruiters in schools. This dual emphasis was encouraged by the return of Selective Service registration in 1980 and the government's various efforts to coerce young men into compliance. Frequently, organizers saw no distinction between the issues of recruiting and Selective Service registration, which had both positive and negative consequences. It was positive in the sense that fear of a possible return to the draft fueled more youth-focused organizing and helped increase awareness of recruiting and militarism in schools. But on the negative side, the frequent focus on Selective Service kept many activists from fully comprehending that economics had become the primary factor driving the militarization of young people, and that draft counseling was not an effective approach to the problem. Another negative consequence was that as concern about conscription diminished in the late 1980s, the overall level of counter-recruitment work also fell considerably.

Fortunately, those groups that did continue to organize deepened their analysis and developed more appropriate and effective organizing approaches. For example, they focused on addressing the "poverty draft" by compiling and distributing literature on alternatives to enlistment. At the same time, they sought to either eliminate recruiters from schools or at least secure equal access to give students alternative information. As the tactics evolved and improved, there were a number of important achievements. For example:

- The principle of equal school access for counter-recruiters was realized in many places, thanks to a combination of effective organizing and a few successful lawsuits decided in the late 1980s. The broadest legal precedent for equal access came in a 1986 ruling won by COMD in the federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

- Solid research produced high-quality tools for grassroots organizing, including a professionally produced slide show that eventually evolved into a powerful educational DVD, "Before You Enlist," which is used widely today.

- In many places, school policies were passed that severely curtailed, or completely banned, recruiter access to students.

- Opportunities for successful cross-community and cross-issue organizing developed that had not been available to the traditional U.S. antiwar movement.

When the U.S. launched military action against Iraq in 1991, a large infusion of new counter-recruitment activists occurred. Once again, many of the individuals were motivated by fear of a returning draft, based on the assumption that the war would last long enough to make conscription necessary (which, of course, it did not). Fortunately, by this time the core of counter-recruitment organizing was embedded with greater awareness of issues like the poverty draft and the broad danger posed by growing militarism in the educational system. This resulted in a more perceptive activist base that could carry on a bit longer when the fear of an impending draft eventually began to fade. This positive cycle of organizing energy held strong until it eventually began to follow a downward curve in the late 1990s.

A surge in organizing after 9/11

Things changed radically, of course, after September 11, 2001. During the following eight years, counter-recruitment and school demilitarization activism steadily increased to an unprecedented intensity, mostly at the local grassroots level. There were national organizing conferences in 2003 and 2004 that drew 150-200 people, and in 2009 a national counter-recruitment and school demilitarization conference in Chicago brought together a crowd of 300 energetic organizers who came from as far away as Hawaii. The conference workshop topics and diverse participants were a compelling demonstration of how recruiting and the militarization of youth formed an intersection for many different issues, communities and generations.

One very important development was the formation in 2004 of the National Network

Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY), which now offers on its Web site (www.nnomy.org) an enormous archive of online organizing and educational resources, as well as a directory of more than 140 grassroots groups engaged in counter-recruitment or school demilitarization-related activity. In the last two years, members of this network have been responsible for major successes like the following:

- In some of the nation's largest school districts and the entire state of Maryland, the military can no longer recruit using data gathered by giving the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) test in high schools.

- Activists have secured policies that strictly limit recruiting activities in the three largest school districts (New York City, L.A. and Chicago) and a number of smaller ones, despite the mandate for recruiter access in No Child Left Behind.

- Though JROTC is almost impossible to remove once it is in a school, recent campaigns in places like San Diego have succeeded in weakening it by mobilizing students and parents to protest mandatory JROTC enrollment, in-school rifle ranges, and the lack of school support for other courses critical to student success.

The nnomy.org Web site has information on all of these and other organizing successes.

Diminution of activism in Obama years poses challenges

Unfortunately, just as the antiwar movement has lost energy since Obama's election, so has the movement to oppose the growing influence of militarism on young people. Since 2010, the number of grassroots counter-recruitment groups has begun to shrink, and several key national organizations have either greatly reduced their support for the work (e.g., National AFSC) or completely disbanded (e.g., CCCO). Some of the organizations that remain are now having discussions about how to draw more attention to the issue and reverse the downward trend in activism. In the meantime, they continue to struggle to raise support and make a difference with diminished resources.

Based on past organizing experiences and some of the recent positive accomplishments, one can see two immediate areas that might boost organizing and produce successful results.

1. ASVAB testing in high schools, which affects 600,000 students a year, raises a number of legal issues because it focuses on legal minors and is conducted without requiring parental approval or notification. Recruiters use the test to obtain highly personal information that includes a student's race/ethnicity, gender, Social Security number, birth date, contact information, future plans and detailed aptitude profile. So far, prohibitions on using the test for this purpose have been won through intense struggles in individual school districts and, in one case, statewide (in liberal Maryland). A new campaign, the National Coalition to Protect Student Privacy, has been launched to expand these victories, especially through state legislation (see http://www.studentprivacy.org/).

2. JROTC is considered the most effective in-school recruiting tool for the Pentagon. Half a million high school students are enrolled in approximately 3000 schools. Not only does the program indoctrinate and produce a high enlistment rate, it also siphons off local school funds and displaces other classes that can be crucial to student success. Unfortunately, experience has shown that a JROTC unit is almost impossible to remove once it is introduced at a school. When they are removed, it is almost always because student enrollment has fallen below the required minimum of either 100 students or 10 percent of the student body. Federal law (i.e., Title 10 of the U.S. Code) mandates this minimum, and a few dozen units are removed because of it each year, but in many cases where under enrollment exists, including where there have been organized student boycotts, the schools and JROTC staff take no action -- they ignore relevant military regulations, the contract with the school district, and the U.S. Code. Currently, the Education Not Arms Coalition (ENAC) in San Diego is consulting with the National Lawyers Guild to see if it could

be possible to legally force schools to comply with federal law and remove all JROTC units that are under the mandated minimum enrollment level. In the meantime, ENAC has demonstrated effective grassroots methods for lowering JROTC enrollment, like shutting down firing ranges in schools and protesting the involuntary placement of students in JROTC. These tactics, with a possible legal challenge, could motivate activism and diminish military training and indoctrination in many schools.

What's at stake

In 2002, an urgent "Dear colleague" letter was circulated to social change and antiwar organizations, progressive media, and liberal foundations. It was signed by representatives of the AFSC, CCCO, Center on Conscience and War, Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities, and War Resisters League. The letter included background information and began with the following warning:

> *We are circulating this packet to call your attention to an important issue that could affect everyone who is working for progressive social change in this country. We are extremely concerned that if it is not given more attention, it will have serious long-term consequences for organizations and foundations that are addressing a wide range of social justice and environmental causes.*

The issue we are referring to is the growing effort by the U.S. military to affect the political and social consciousness of the country through its influence on young people, especially through its involvement in the educational system.

The rest of the letter pointed out that successful efforts for social change require the public's willingness to engage in critical, democratic discourse, yet the growing militarization of young people was moving the country in the opposite direction. It called on groups receiving the packet to help reverse this dangerous trend and listed suggestions for actions.

Today, the need to address the issue of youth militarization is just as compelling, because even though much has been accomplished with organizing in the last three decades, the issue has not been given the attention it deserves. If the Pentagon continues to expand its involvement in the socialization process and more children are taught the values of militarism when they go to school, there will be much less that we can do in the future to affect the political climate. If we're going to reverse this trend, now is when it must be done.

This article is from Draft NOtices, the newsletter of the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (http://www.comdsd.org/)

Source: http://www.comdsd.org/article_archive/Counter-recruitmentReview1-2012.html

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Scott Harding and Seth Kershner - Just say No: Organizing Against Militarism in Public Schools

In an effort to counteract the growing militarization of schools, military counter-recruitment (CR) has emerged as an effective grassroots movement across the United States. Led by a small number of local activists, CR utilizes community organizing methods to confront the structures supporting military enlistment as a viable career option. Despite operating with limited resources, counter-recruitment has secured key legal and policy victories that challenge the dominant social narrative about military service. Three examples of counter- recruitment are profiled to illustrate the different tactics and strategies used for successful organizing within a culture of militarism.

At a time of heightened militarism and involvement in long-term wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, there are few overt signs of an active and successful "peace movement" in the United States. Despite significant opposition to the invasion of Iraq and public apprehension over expanding the war in Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, June 2011, Volume XXXVIII, Number 2.

Afghanistan, two successive administrations have maintained a notable consistency in the use of U.S. military force, ostensibly to "protect" American security. Presidents Bush and Obama have also sustained record levels of military spending since 2002, while other forms of the U.S. national security state have grown apace. Fear of additional terrorist attacks in the wake of September 11 have led to an open-ended "War on Terror," including an expansion of domestic and international intelligence gathering—spying—on U.S. citizens and "foreigners" alike (Murray, 2010). Popular culture, most notably film and television, has largely avoided critical scrutiny of this "new American militarism" (Bacevich, 2005), while public displays of nationalism and support for the military have suppressed political dissent.

In spite of this apparent hegemony of beliefs, a growing movement of community organizers and activists opposed to U.S. foreign policy and the growing militarization of schools are engaged in a battle for the hearts and minds of young Americans. Military counter-recruitment (CR), an effort to neutralize recruitment into the armed forces, has emerged as a key method among those disillusioned with the more traditional tactics and approach of the mainstream U.S. peace movement. With an estimated 150 local CR groups operating in different venues and utilizing various organizing tactics (Castro, 2008; Friesen, 2010), counter-recruitment is focused on the increasing presence of military recruitment within public education. While CR organizing exists across the United States, it is largely a grassroots effort to resist war and a broader culture of militarism by emphasizing clearly defined—and what organizers see as achievable—goals linked to the "symbolic violence" represented by military recruiters in schools and local communities.

In this article, we analyze three examples of counter-recruitment in the United States. We examine the respective strategies and use of community organizing tactics by organizers, evaluate the similarities and differences in approach among these examples, and assess the efficacy of CR efforts. After noting the growing presence of military recruiters in educational settings, we locate the work of local CR groups within Friesen's (2010) model of five symbolic struggles between CR

activists and military recruiters. While CR organizing typically operates with limited resources and staffing, in contrast to the massive advertising and recruiting budget of the U.S. military, the counter-recruitment movement has achieved notable victories in local communities. We find that to be successful, CR groups must utilize strategic framing of their activities to broaden public support. In addition, choosing discreet targets of organizing efforts, careful recruitment of allies, and long-term coalition- building appear critical to positive outcomes. We frame our analysis within a broader context of public support for and acquiescence to a culture of militarism in the United States.

The Culture of Militarism in America

While mainstream accounts of American history have typically glorified the U.S. military, representations within popular culture have intensified in the post-September 11 era. A recent issue of Fortune magazine (March 22, 2010), for example, featured four different covers of uniformed soldiers, all but one holding a rifle, under the heading, "Meet the new face of business leadership." The article noted that major U.S. corporations are actively recruiting "the military's elite." The March 2010 cover of Vogue, tagged as the "Military issue," featured female models in military-inspired clothing. "Heavy-duty utility pieces in khaki and olive," it noted, "make up a distinguished urban uniform that commands the season's attention."

In a September 2010 profile, Men's Journal lauded the "gutsy" and "ballsy pilots" who fly the Kiowa attack helicopter in Iraq and Afghanistan. While the article included a photo of a bare-chested, smiling pilot, it had no pictures or little mention of the civilian casualties that often result from the use of these weapons. Such examples depict soldiers as modern day "heroes" and "warriors" representing an ideal of American society, and have become deeply embedded within popular culture. These and similar representations are thus so normalized and ubiquitous that they may seem "invisible," as the military is portrayed as vital and desirable, especially in an increasingly "dangerous" world.

Like the growing use of the American flag—on bumper stickers, advertisements, lapel pins—American soldiers are everywhere imaginable in mainstream culture. As important, the common portrayals of soldiers emphasize themes of bravery and honor, avoiding critical scrutiny of the role played by the military in foreign interventions (like the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan), or the clear dangers that solders face. The rise of the phrase "support our troops," is used ostensibly to offer thanks "to those who do so much to protect us," as a recent advertisement from Goodyear noted. But such references also imply only one acceptable way of thinking about the military, while implicitly providing support for U.S. foreign wars. Sports and other public events routinely utilize the military and those in uniform to promote a distinct form of nationalism and patriotism. Thus militarization takes place not only at a military base, "in the classroom, or on the battlefield (wherever that may be), but instead increasingly occurs in less institutionalized settings such as state fairs, air shows, and car races" (Allen, 2009, p. 10).

Ironically, at a time when the military draft is a distant memory Lutz (2010) suggested that "war readiness is a way of life" in the United States, a phenomenon that permeates public life and social identity, yet is largely devoid of critical scrutiny. She found that a "permanent and massive mobilization for war" has distorted the American Dream by increasing corporate power in the public sector, promoting a culture of government secrecy, and shifting critical resources away from

the struggle for social and economic equality (p. 45). The depth of this cultural militarization, she found, is crucial to the lack of public introspection about its implications.

Veneration of the military represents a recent cultural shift: until the mid-20th century "military power and institutions" were viewed with "skepticism, if not outright hostility. In the wake of World War II, that changed. An affinity for military might emerged as central to the American identity" as a global power promoting freedom and democracy (Bacevich, 2010, p. 13). As a result, critical debate over the size of the U.S. military budget remains a taboo topic for most U.S. politicians, helping fuel a "permanent war economy." As Lutz observed, "there is no institution that is more revered than the military and whose financial and moral support is thought more unquestionable in the halls of Congress …" (2010, p. 55).

Normalizing Military Recruitment

Of significance for counter-recruitment efforts, the culture of militarism permeates key social institutions in U.S. society, with public schools a prominent example. The use of primary schools for presentations has become an ideal site of socialization by veterans and current soldiers, who use these opportunities to discuss their experiences "defending freedom." That such events often attract local media coverage further normalizes the role of the military and serves as a potent and free recruiting tool by the armed forces. Another common practice is for primary schoolchildren to assemble care packages or write letters which they send to soldiers serving overseas. Such activities constitute a form of "symbolic recruitment" which educates children "to take the war effort for granted and to view it as desirable, to consider it a privileged form of social participation, rather than question its necessity" (Givol, Rotem, & Sandler, 2004, p. 19).

More pervasive is the growing presence of military recruiters in thousands of secondary schools across the United States. Changes to federal law have gradually increased students' exposure to the military in various ways. The 2001 No Child Left Behind Act, for example, requires all U.S. high schools to provide the Pentagon with contact information for high school students or face the loss of federal education funding (Tannock, 2005). As a result, recruiters now have access to nearly all students, both directly on high school campuses and via telephone and other communication tools. As a U.S. Marine Corps strategist acknowledged, "the future of the all-volunteer armed forces are seventeen year-old male high school seniors … but it is crucial that a recruiter contacts them during their junior year of high school, which is why the provision of student directory information is so critical" (Long, 2006, p. 8). The Pentagon also pays handsomely for information obtained by private data brokers, sometimes illegally obtained by the third party (Goodman, 2009).

Anderson (2009) criticized the growing presence of recruiters in schools for targeting the most vulnerable segment of American youth: low-income students with limited academic and employment prospects. Noting the lack of research about military recruiters in high schools, he finds that this "pipeline to the military" has largely avoided critical scrutiny while schools have come under more pressure from recruiters: the Pentagon's need for troops has increased since the invasion and occupation of Iraq and, more recently, the escalating war in Afghanistan. In the context of a call for a permanent war against terrorism, troop levels are expected to remain high into the foreseeable future (pp. 267268).

The need to meet recruitment goals, especially among minority youth, has increased demands on the military and forced recruiters to increase their exposure to school-aged youth. A 2009 study prepared for the Secretary of Defense notes the recent difficulties of the Army in meeting annual recruiting goals, resulting in lowered recruitment standards, recruitment of "more lower-quality enlistees," and "several experimental programs to allow applicants who failed to meet standards to quality for enlistment" (Asch, Buck, Klerman, Kleykamp, & Loughran, 2009, p. xxii). Future efforts to develop "recruiting incentives" for less qualified Hispanic and African-American youth, such as increased marketing of educational benefits, were encouraged.

The military also obtains a wealth of student information from the results of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB). The three-hour test is provided free to school districts as a "vocational aptitude" exam, and many cash- strapped districts require their students to take it. Test results are made available to recruiters, who can then use the data to customize their recruitment "discussion" with students. Still, the Pentagon publicly plays down the recruitment potential, claiming that the ASVAB is just a way of "giving back" to communities by providing a public service to schools and often referring to the test as the innocuous-sounding "ASVAB Career Exploration Program" (Castro, 2010).

The growing popularity of computer and video games, many of which trace to Pentagon funded research to create training simulation for the armed forces, represent a related means that supports a culture of militarism. Ottosen (2009) linked military research and development and the creation of new video games "as instruments for recruitment to the armed forces and as a tool in the global battle for hearts and minds in the so called Global War on Terror" (p. 123). Indeed, the most popular video games offer players fictional depictions that mimic current U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and surreptitiously build support for the American military (Suellentrop, 2010). One such game, "America's Army," requires users to "register" by providing personal data to military recruiters.

Alternatives to Militarism: Counter-recruitment as One Model

It is within this context of deeply embedded militarism that the practice of counter-recruitment exists. Despite the growth of CR activities, counter-recruiters face significant odds in their efforts to dissuade American youth from joining the military.

As suggested, they confront a society that encourages youth—especially males—to demonstrate masculinity (and patriotism) by becoming modern-day "warriors" and joining the military. In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, CR activists must also grapple with an environment where political dissent is increasingly suspect and subject to being labeled "un-American." This is especially pronounced for those challenging cultural norms about the military and its use. Those involved in counter-recruitment, like other forms of peace activism, therefore face claims of being unpatriotic, undermining the morale of U.S. troops involved in war, and of jeopardizing U.S. security by (unwittingly) supporting "enemies" of the United States (Coy, Woehrle, & Maney, 2008).

Nonetheless, there are successful precedents of efforts to challenge war and militarization; resistance to the Vietnam War is the best known example in the United States. On the home front, draft counseling and conscientious objection (CO) to military service in Vietnam received broad

support, fueled by recognition that racial minorities, and poor and working class youth were disproportionately drafted to fight an unpopular war (Cortright, 1975). Draft counseling efforts assisted soldiers and potential recruits by identifying options available to those opposed to serving in the military or who felt that fighting in a war contradicted their personal values. Much like counter-recruitment employs community organizing, draft counseling utilized similar tactics as a way to deal proactively with the Vietnam war. These activities were an integral part of a broader antiwar activism that reshaped the American political landscape. Despite its disparate nature, "the Vietnam antiwar movement was the largest, most sustained, and most powerful peace campaign in human history" (Cortright, 2008, p. 157).

Lainer-Vos (2006) noted that "more than fifteen million men received legal exemptions and deferments (60% of the cohort)" during the Vietnam War, while about 170,000 "obtained the legal status of CO. As many as 570,000 men evaded conscription illegally" (p. 363). According to Cortright (2008), by the last year of the draft "conscientious objectors outnumbered military conscripts" (p. 167). In 1973 with the draft ended, some activists viewed counter-recruitment as a more practical option of opposing the military than claiming conscientious objector status.

The first national counter recruitment conference was held in Baltimore in 1974, and in 1976 the Task Force on Recruitment and Militarism (TFORM) was formed by those involved in draft counseling campaigns. The group, which later included several national peace organizations, including the American Friends Service Committee and the War Resisters League, served as a network among activists and mobilized in the early 1980s to address the revival of the Selective Service Registration System (Castro, 2008; Friesen, 2010). TFORM represented a precursor to the current environment of local CR organizations focused on challenging military recruitment. As described in our examples, these groups have been active since the 1980s, though up until the current Iraq war organizing efforts were uneven. Despite a lack of media coverage and scholarship about counter-recruitment, CR activists have scored important legal victories, forced changes to local school policies, and broadened their base of support to include parents, teachers, unions, and other key community actors.

Goals of the Counter-Recruitment Movement

In the first empirical study focused on the counter-recruitment movement (CRM), sociologist Matthew Friesen (2010) argued that CRs are involved in five symbolic struggles with military recruiters (MRs). Friesen's research, based upon interviews with movement activists, owes its theoretical underpinnings to the field of social movement studies and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of "symbolic violence." His analysis revealed that "a series of contests is occurring between CRs and MRs in public schools" over the following:

• Rendition of Information: Counter-recruiters resist the efforts of military recruiters to collect and use student information to promote military recruitment.

• Educational Space: Counter-recruiters work to restrict the physical presence of military recruiters on the school campus.

• Heroic Military Narrative: Counter-recruiters present narratives of military service contrary to those related by military recruiters.

• Educational Mission: Counter-recruiters resist efforts to introduce military values into public education.

• Vocational Visions: Counter-recruiters challenge military recruiters' descriptions of vocational opportunities provided by military service, and provide alternative career options. (Friesen, 2010, p. 41)

We expand upon Friesen's (2010) model by construing these symbolic struggles as common goals for the CR movement. As Friesen provided the first analysis of counter-recruiters' own perceptions of their work, and in the absence of anything resembling a counter-recruitment movement manifesto, we are confident in re-branding Friesen's five struggles as movement goals. Our analysis illustrates how three high- profile organizers reflect a commitment to achieving the same goals while drawing upon community organizing tactics to advance their agenda. Effective military recruiters essentially practice good community organizing: they talk to the influential people in a neighborhood—a local minister, a high school football coach—and build support for the military as a viable option for young men. The fact that military recruitment relies on organizing principles suggests a need for counter recruiters to do the same.

The first goal of CR, following Friesen (2010), aims at combating MRs' easy access to private student information. Nearly half of Friesen's interviewees cited "resistance to these data collection efforts as a central activity" of their local CR organizing activities (p. 20). Recruiting for an all-volunteer military depends on generating reliable leads and contacting young people as early as possible in their high school careers. As a result, military recruiters depend heavily on lists of student data to generate solid leads and gain enlistments. Such data comes from the variety of sources discussed above. Pat Elder, profiled below, is one organizer who has successfully used the tactic of lobbying for legislative changes to restrict military recruiter access to student information at the school district, county, and state levels. CRs who organize around this particular goal often report having an easier time gaining support for their advocacy efforts from parents.

The second goal of CR aims at combating MRs' control over educational space. In many school districts military recruiters currently enjoy almost unlimited access to students: they often represent a grossly disproportionate number of occupational representatives at school career fairs, walk about unsupervised on school property, and at times even intervene to ensure that potential recruits get passing grades so they can qualify for special service after graduation (Geurin, 2009). Since the Pentagon can afford to inundate schools with recruiting resources, the result is that other post-graduation career options are not as well represented in guidance offices, at school career fairs, and in students' post-graduation plans.

Counter-recruiters rely on community organizing tactics in their struggle over MRs' access to educational space. They often stake out their own space within schools to undertake public education efforts (e.g. tabling and distributing literature). They may also engage in advocacy by lobbying local school boards to restrict MRs' access to schools (Hardy, 2005). A remarkable amount of effort goes into both tactics. Organizers must be persistent in trying to reach school administrators in order to secure permission to set up a literature display or "peace table." Furthermore, the legislative achievements that offer CR activists the rare opportunity to see concrete results only come after significant time spent networking and recruiting allies: parents, students, teachers, and school board members.

The third goal of CR organizing aims at challenging what Friesen (2010) called the "heroic military narrative" endorsed by MRs and reinforced by military recruiting advertisements in the mass media (p. 22). A large share of the Pentagon's $1 billion annual public relations budget goes into promoting the notion that serving in the military can be an exciting adventure— witness current Air Force Reserve television advertisements which play on young men's fascination with extreme sports. MRs' more personal pitches aim at stimulating pride and nationalism—that only the toughest join the Marines, or that heroism is the exclusive domain of the military. As a counterpoint to this dominant narrative, counter-recruiters seek to introduce young people to information that MRs are likely to leave out of their marketing. In another instance of organizing for public education, many of the brochures and fliers distributed by CRs in schools and at career fairs relate statistics on the number of veterans who end up homeless or on the alarming percentage of women soldiers who experience sexual violence in the military.

In a key tactic used to achieve the goal of challenging the dominant military narrative, CRs organize with veterans' groups to deliver public education modules. Most of these public presentations take on the topic of "what the military is really like." Extensive outreach to classroom teachers and students is important here to recruit allies and ensure that counter-recruitment presentations will continue to be welcomed in the future.

The fourth goal of CR seeks the demilitarization of schools. Counter-recruiters are concerned with the way recruiters' presence in schools contradict "traditional educational values" like creativity and non-violent problem-solving. Indeed, the school- based Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) program shows how "military values that emphasize discipline, hierarchy, conformity, rigidity, uniformity, obedience, and training in violence" can take hold in schools (Friesen, 2010, p. 26).

There are more than 3,000 JROTC programs in all branches of service across the United States and its territories. Although schools pay for most JROTC programming, the Pentagon successfully sells the programs to often poorer and under-re- sourced communities with the promise that youth involvement in JROTC promotes "discipline" and even reduces the likelihood that at-risk youth may get involved in gangs. Some public schools and charter schools have gone as far as to revamp the entire curriculum along the lines of a military school (Aguirre & Johnson, 2005). Therefore, in order to resist the rising tide of militarized education, counter-recruitment affirms the educational values of critical thinking and free thought—principles antithetical to the military model of education. To advance their goal of resisting militarized education, counter-recruiters rely on school specific community organizing tactics such as curriculum development. CRs may also lend their support to student-initiated extracurricular activities like "peace clubs" or social justice magnet schools. As Friesen stated (2010), the "promotion of anti-militarization curriculum and teacher training, radical thought classes, and support of peace clubs" will together "enable CRs to reaffirm traditional educational values" (p. 27).

The fifth goal of counter-recruitment aims at contesting what Friesen (2010) called the "vocational visions" offered by military recruiters. Since the end of conscription in 1973, military recruiting advertisements have heavily promoted the opportunities for career advancement found in the armed forces (Bailey, 2009; Moore, 2009). Such sustained publicity has been effective in attracting recruits interested above all in the prospects of family insurance coverage or generous sign- on

bonuses. With the armed forces now dependent on finding more than 200,000 volunteer recruits annually (U.S. Department of Defense, 2009), young men facing economic pressures and those with few educational opportunities are especially vulnerable to recruitment, resulting in what some label a "poverty draft." Not surprisingly, military recruitment continues to emphasize vocational and educational opportunities, along with financial incentives to potential recruits. Anecdotal reports of increased recruitment during economic recessions underscore how many enlistees view the armed forces through a pragmatic, rather than a patriotic, lens (Massing, 2008). As Friesen (2010) relates:

Fashioning a future for a potential enlistee through the lens of military experience is one of the most powerful tools at the MR's disposal. MRs describe military service as an opportunity to receive technical training that will further a civilian career, provide money for college, offer a way out of difficult life circumstances, infuse a vocation with patriotic service, and secure a sizable retirement pension (p. 27).

Counter-recruiters contest the military's perceived monopoly on viable vocational opportunities by pointing out that many military occupations have no civilian counterpart, making employment upon discharge problematic; that military recruiters cannot guarantee an enlistee will receive the occupation or training of their choice; and that there is a much higher unemployment rate for military veterans than non-veterans. At career fairs or at the growing number of CR-sponsored "social justice fairs," counter-recruiters engage in public education by distributing literature and giving public presentations on non-military routes to learning a trade.

Counter-recruiters also recognize the abundance of research which shows how many young people choose to enlist out of a desire to serve one's country. They may be motivated by such intangible vocational aims as "dignity" and "fidelity," two of the leading themes identified by young recruits in Department of Defense Youth Polls (Eighmey, 2006). Therefore, CRs must "contest the collapse of serving one's country into a strictly military narrative by sharing information about volunteer programs such as AmeriCorps, National Civilian Community Corps, City Year, and other not-for-profit service opportunities" (Friesen, 2010, p. 29). By offering information on non-military alternatives to national service, CRs are making a major contribution to their goal of contesting the vocational visions promoted by military recruiters.

Counter-Recruitment in Action

In the following we analyze how three counter-recruiters (and their respective organizations) engage in community organizing to achieve the goals outlined above. We chose these "cases" due to the visibility of each organizer in peace and counter-recruitment publications, and based on the prominent roles they play nationally, for example in terms of organizing, public speaking and leading workshops at the 2009 national conference of the National Network Opposing Militarization of Youth (NNOMY). Our analysis is based on multiple interviews with each of the organizers conducted by telephone during the spring and summer of 2010. Follow-up interviews were conducted via email and telephone. Informants were asked to describe how they became involved with counter-recruitment, what tactics have proven to be the most successful in their organizing, and to identify their larger organizational strategies. In addition, through an analysis of primary and secondary documents related to the work of each organizer and his or her organization, we sought to further assess their different organizing tactics, key barriers they

confront in schools and local communities, and the relative success of their efforts. In our second example, in particular, use of these documents helped provide a critical historical assessment of the counter- recruitment movement by exploring the contest over "equal access" in public schools. We note that although all three of the "cases" analyzed here make reference to the goals described by Friesen (2010), this is coincidental; we selected our examples of counter-recruitment prior to learning of Friesen's framework.

Pat Elder: Plucky Pragmatist.

Maryland-based organizer Pat Elder is a practical organizer concerned above all with getting results. He advocates a legislative approach to counter-recruitment and presents workshops to activists interested in learning about the subject. In his pragmatism he shows the influence of his organizing "guru," Rick Jahnkow, a San Diego-based organizer who has been a consistent critic of the U.S. peace movement's focus on traditional activities—like picketing and marching—that produce little in the way of concrete results (Jahnkow, 1989; Jahnkow, 2006a). According to Elder, the traditional peace movement views "countering recruitment and militarization in the schools as just another tactic to use to fight the wars du jour. On the other hand, many of my colleagues and I with NNOMY feel countering recruitment is the strategy to employ to resist war" (personal communication, June 26, 2010).

Elder was not always opposed to the traditional means of protesting wars and militarism in the United States. Having founded a non-hierarchical activist group, DC Anti-war Network or DAWN, he helped organize one of the first anti-war demonstrations in Washington, D.C. after the attacks of September 11. However, in 2004 he made what he calls a "pragmatic shift" and decided that his efforts would be better spent by focusing more narrowly on the issue of military recruitment. As a parent, a school teacher by profession and a self-described "Bethesda type," the decision to focus on lobbying school boards to restrict military recruiter access to student information was a natural fit. His efforts, falling under Friesen's first goal of preventing the rendition of student information, quickly bore fruit (personal communication, May 12, 2010).

As noted, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 mandates that public high schools hand over their students' contact information to the Pentagon as a condition of continued federal funding. However, an obscure legal loophole allows parents or students to "optout" of what critics see as an invasive procedure. Elder's first victory was in persuading his own local school district of Montgomery County, Maryland, to require the "opt-out" form to appear on the emergency information card that all parents or guardians must complete at the beginning of the school year. He and other organizers experienced subsequent successes getting the same provision passed in neighboring counties. But when they targeted school districts far from liberal Montgomery County and ran into opposition, "we decided it was time for some legislation." Elder gives all the credit for what came to be known as the Maryland "opt out" legislation to State Senator Paul Pinsky (personal communication, May 12, 2010).

Elder has shifted his attention in the last few years to the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB). His efforts to get legislation passed preventing the automatic transfer of student test results to the military is a useful example of community organizing. Elder started by recognizing a pair of organizing challenges that would make this campaign a tougher fight than the

opt-out efforts. First, the military would put all its organizing efforts into blocking passage of any ASVAB bill. As Elder noted:

> *The military didn't fight the "opt-out" (legislation). ... It didn't matter to the military, because the military can get names and phone numbers from a bunch of other sources. The ASVAB is different. The military really counts on the ASVAB because they get career information, demographics—they get four hours of getting into a kid's head! (Personal communication, May 12, 2010).*

Elder also faced a second organizing challenge: he would not be able to count on a sturdy advocate in government, having recognized before starting the campaign that his old ally Sen. Paul Pinsky would be perceived as too liberal to shepherd this bill through the Maryland Senate. To head off the two challenges, he had to secure stronger support in the community by recruiting new allies and coalition building. Elder was instrumental in founding Maryland Coalition to Protect Student Privacy, and gained support for the bill from the ACLU, the NACCP, and the Maryland PTA. Along with recruiting allies and coalition-building, the group was also careful to properly frame the public messages they were broadcasting. "We never allowed anybody to suggest that we were anti-war people" (personal communication, May 12, 2010). He credits this public relations tactic with helping to get the bill passed. As he told attendees of a workshop on legislative approaches to CR at the NNOMY National Conference in 2009: "You can't build a movement out of just the radicals in this country. There just aren't enough of them." Hence, given the realities of the American political scene, networking with groups like the decidedly un-radical local parent-teacher association becomes a fundamental component of counter-recruitment.

Rick Jahnkow: Doyen of the CRM.

Described above as Pat Elder's organizing "guru," Rick Jahnkow represents the counterrecruitment movement's historian, philosopher, and chief strategist. With thirty years' experience in the San Diego, California area, Jahnkow and the grassroots organization he co-founded, Project for Youth and Non-Military Alternatives (Project YANO) have achieved a number of successes. Among them, probably the most significant was the successful 1986 suit in San Diego CARD v. Governing Board of Grossmont Union High School. The decision in Grossmont, handed down by the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, came at a time when many in the CRM were resorting to litigation as an organizing tactic. Grossmont effectively gave counter-recruiters a legal basis for organizing in schools.

Jahnkow has always made tactical use of the alternative press. He writes frequently for journals such as Draft NOtices on topics pertaining to peace education and counter-recruitment. His careful framing of the public message means that his opinions have remained remarkably consistent over the years. Two points are worth noting. First, he believes that the peace movement, used to thinking primarily in terms of visible, public protest, must shift its emphasis to addressing the "dangerous spread of military ideals and values in society," which constitutes the "root cause" of unending war and militarism (Jahnkow, 1989, p. 1). Counter-recruitment is the means by which activists can address the "root cause" of war in the places where military values are disseminated —the public schools. The second element of his message targets those who are doing counter-recruitment. Jahnkow urges activists to start thinking strategically and adopt a "long-term vision" aimed at combating the spread of militarism in schools (2006b, p. 19). A long-term strategy would

be effective at not only opposing current U.S. wars, he argues, but possibly preventing the outbreak of future wars (2006a). Jahnkow's emphasis on long-term strategy stems from his experiences organizing in conservative and highly militarized San Diego County. "That long-term perspective is very important. But I feel it's that way everywhere. Movements in other countries have learned that, but that goes against the grain of our culture—we want immediate gratification" (personal communication, May 27, 2010).

The "Case History" of Project YANO, written by Jahnkow (2006b) to educate other activists in the field, highlights specific community organizing tactics the counter-recruitment movement draws on to achieve its goals. Jahnkow's primary affiliation, Project YANO, was formed in 1984 at a time when "only a few organizations were engaged in similar efforts" (p. i). At that time, the principle of equal access for counter-recruiters had not yet been addressed in the courts. As a result, Project YANO organizers had to think strategically about how best to use their limited resources to gain access to schools given that their right to that access was often challenged by school stakeholders. The first year of organizing was therefore spent recruiting allies: targeting classroom teachers, sending out large mailings about the Project YANO classroom presentations and soliciting invitations from teachers. By the second year their effort to recruit allies had extended to guidance counselors, a group targeted with a special mailing "since they are frequently the primary source of information for high school students looking for career and college opportunities" (p. 5). During those first two years, when Project YANO activists were delivering classroom presentations and reaching out to guidance counselors, the group was both countering the "heroic military narrative" and providing information on nonmilitary career options (Friesen's *2010+ third and fifth goals, respectively).

In 1988, Project YANO shifted its focus to Friesen's (2010) first goal when they launched a campaign to raise awareness of equal access and privacy issues around ASVAB testing in the San Diego Unified School District. Jahnkow and his fellow Project YANO organizers relied heavily on three community organizing tactics during this campaign: letter-writing, advocacy, and recruiting allies. A letter-writing campaign led by parents and religious groups, including the San Diego County Ecumenical Society, lobbied the school district to change its policies regarding the automatic release of test results to military recruiters. Organizers had early on recruited allies among the clergy at the Unitarian church attended by the district Superintendent, and this association paid off. As Jahnkow relates, "even at his own church, Superintendent Payzant was approached by people asking him to do something to stop ASVAB testing" (2006b, p. 12). Ultimately, the district and Project YANO reached a compromise on a policy which held that the district "would no longer allow students to take the ASVAB unless they got a parent's signature on an acknowledgment form that explicitly asked if they wanted recruiters to receive their child's scores" (p. 12). According to some accounts, the new policy had the effect of halving the number of military recruitment leads generated by ASVAB testing in the district.

It is worth summarizing Jahnkow's own conclusions drawn from the campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s. Three in particular best illustrate the use of community organizing. First, it was essential to embrace a long-term, incremental approach to building support. The first- and second-year mail campaigns to teachers and guidance counselors exemplify this approach. Project YANO sought to build "community" support first, rather than to risk closing doors in the future by getting turned away at the school board and superintendent level. Second, the group sought to strengthen

"organizational credibility" by working "in coalition with community groups" and soliciting "key community endorsements." Project YANO's practice of recruiting allies and coalition building with area clergy serve as a good example of this approach. Finally, a letter-writing campaign and lobbying from parents and clergy aided the success of the anti-ASVAB campaign cited above. Jahnkow notes that "complaints about the military from parents, students, community groups and school personnel are effective" (2006b, pp. 19-20).

For contemporary campaigns, Jahnkow holds that there are at least two important tactics to keep in mind while engaged in counter-recruitment work in a highly militarized environment like San Diego. First, it is necessary to control and tailor one's message to suit different audiences. "You have to speak a language that is understandable to the people you're addressing and not speak the language of other places, like Berkeley, when you're in Phoenix," he noted. Second, considering the difficulty of securing funding and adequate staffing for counter-recruitment work, Jahnkow suggested that "you have to think strategically about what you do choose to do, about the approaches you do adopt and whether they're going to have strategic value" (personal communication, May 27, 2010).

Arlene Inouye: Outreach Artist.

In the months following the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, a speech and language therapist in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) was troubled by a question. Arlene Inouye knew that the youth and militarism work done in her area by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was useful. But she wondered if there wasn't something more that she and her colleagues could do on a local level. Inouye describes herself a union person, thus she approached the Human Rights Committee of her teachers' union with her question. At that time she did not yet have a clear idea about specific goals, only an interest in recruiting teachers who would want to develop "some kind of a response." To her delight, the union was receptive and "doors opened right away" (personal communication, September 20, 2010). One of those doors led to a union-organized teach-in on the Iraq war in June 2003, an event which attracted more than one hundred area teachers. Inouye came away from the teach-in with a list of names that would serve as the foundation for the soon-to-be-formed Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Schools (CAMS).

Inouye has been the chief coordinator of CAMS since its founding. Lobbying and advocacy victories by the group include a district-wide policy restricting the disclosure of student ASVAB test results to the military. A public education campaign, Operation Opt Out, has resisted the rendition of student information (Friesen's *2010+ first goal) by more than doubling the number of students who return signed opt-out forms each fall. Another form of public education, classroom presentations, is organized by volunteers working with CAMS' outreach arm, Project Great Futures. Similar to Project YANO, these classroom presentations seek to achieve the third, fourth and fifth goals identified by Friesen (2010). Inouye's innovative Adopt-a-School program shows more clearly how community organizing tactics facilitate counter-recruitment work.

Employing a tool-kit approach to Friesen's (2010) second goal of counter-recruitment (resisting the "physical presence of MRs on the school campus"), the Adopt-a-School program empowers stakeholders in the school community—teachers, parents, or concerned citizens—to take concrete steps toward demilitarizing their local schools. Preliminary work involves strategic targeting of individual schools. In her capacity as mentor to novice teachers, Inouye makes regular visits to

many of the schools in her district. This enables her to be a listening post, getting a feel for any special issues that a school may have with regard to military recruiters. Such regular contact with schools also enables Inouye to recruit allies for CAMS from among the staff she encounters. Once target schools have been identified, Point Persons (supportive school stakeholders) work together with a CAMS representative to identify and discuss the chief characteristics of their particular school, determine whether there have been complaints from parents or students about military recruiters, and to develop a strategy based around that data.

What also makes the Adopt-a-School program unique is its online trove of documents. These materials constitute a program of public education in community organizing.

"Strategies for Operation Opt Out," "Working with Union Reps at the School," and "People Skills: How to Frame the Issues" are among the resources available online. As the title of the last document demonstrates, the group places great stress on properly framing the public message in counter-recruitment work. Inouye also cautions counter-recruiters against using anti-military rhetoric in their organizing: "It's not a black or white thing. You have to be really flexible and you have to adjust your message, your approach" (personal communication, September 20, 2010).

The Tides Foundation, which funds other peace and social justice organizing efforts, originally provided CAMS seed money for its Adopt-a-School program which the foundation felt had shown "great promise as a national model" (personal communication, September 24, 2010). The grant allowed CAMS to identify and organize 35 schools. Five years later, 50 schools in the LAUSD have a designated Point Person, and elements of the Adopt-a-School program have been implemented by CRs in other parts of the country, most notably in New York and San Francisco.

As noted, aside from success in lobbying for legislative changes at the school district level, CAMS monitors compliance with the new policies at both the school district and the local school level. Past experience observing school administrators' lax approach to upholding new policies has taught Inouye that "once something passes you really have to have a mechanism in place where you can monitor compliance." To better advocate for demilitarized schools at the school district level, the group initiated a process of creating a military advisory committee on the school board. "We went to the board and they actually formed a committee around us," Inouye noted, "where I drive the agenda and we're able to keep a watch over policies, practices and everything having to do with military recruiting." Aside from Inouye, the committee includes the school district official in charge of secondary schools, as well as the district supervisor for JROTC (personal communication, September 20, 2010).

Within the Adopt-a-School program, school stakeholders in the form of Point Persons (usually teachers) function as "force multipliers." Thus the Point Persons often work as CAMS informants in the schools, monitoring compliance with relevant district policy at the school, or alerting CAMS in the event of non-compliance. For instance, a Point Person on the teaching staff at one district school informed Inouye that a military recruiting van was planning to visit the school without gaining prior approval. The point person's early alert allowed Inouye time to contact the school principal to discuss her concerns. Shortly thereafter, Inouye dispatched volunteers to the school who distributed CAMS literature. Those volunteers were later joined by representatives from the student peace club, also sent to the scene by Inouye. In the end, the principal arranged to have the recruiting command cancel the visit. "That to me was a really exciting example of how when

you work things at multiple levels you can actually stop something from happening," Inouye said (personal communication, September 20, 2010).

Discussion

Counter-recruitment demands that its activists perform the same sorts of functions normally associated with community organizing. Our analysis illustrates the following implications for CRM strategy: (1) CRs must avoid taking an overtly anti-war position, stressing instead the anti-militarism of the movement. To do otherwise and frame CR as a form of opposition to particular wars runs the risk of alienating key community leaders whose support may be needed to build future coalitions; (2) While the CRM is explicitly inclusive, in that it is multi-generational and multiracial, CR organizing paradoxically needs at the same time to be somewhat exclusive in recruiting activists. Not everyone can be a community organizer, and those who lack good interpersonal skills and a feel for the political will fail to advance the movement's goals; and (3) Given the long-term dimension of this work, CRs would do well to focus their efforts on achieving some of the goals Organizing Against Militarism in Public Schools identified by Friesen (2010). With the possible exception of Arlene Inouye, none of these examples of counter-recruitment sought to organize around all five of the goals at once. Indeed, one of the counte-rrecruiters in this study compared his role in fighting the Goliath of American militarism to the plucky determination of the American bull terrier highlighted in James Thurber's short story, "Snapshot of a Dog." "You pick a bit, you become an expert in it, and you don't let go" (Pat Elder, personal communication, May 12, 2010).

Counter-recruitment organizing starts with recruiting allies to build effective local coalitions. The examples of CR analyzed in this study demonstrate that the best allies are typically school stakeholders: parents and teachers. With a coalition firmly in place, these groups seek to clarify goals and objectives. Counter-recruiters do this by framing their coalition's public message in non-threatening, inclusive language. The activists we interviewed all agree that an anti-war or antimilitary message will end up alienating the coalition from the community whose support it needs to survive. If these groups cannot transmit their finely-honed message to enough people, or to those they want to target, counter-recruiters then try to utilize alternative media outlets.

The counter-recruiters profiled here lobby policy-makers and relevant public officials when they want to see concrete (policy) change. They get on the phone, write letters, and reach out to local places of worship to influence decisions. As another means of advocacy, counter-recruiters may get themselves seated on committees. If none exist they may start the process to create one so that there will be some forum to address the concerns of their coalition. And finally, if their coalition isn't getting a chance to be heard, and if those in power won't let them be heard because they are ignoring a law, counter-recruiters first try and cajole them or convince them to come to their senses. And, if all else fails, they litigate.

Current counter-recruitment strategy can be summarized in three key phrases: antimilitarist, long term, and inclusive. CR strategy is anti-militarist, not simply anti-war. It is aimed at countering that part of U.S. culture which promotes violence and war as the optimal response to conflict. Anti-militarism is seen by movement organizers as a way to keep the movement viable for the long-term. One lesson CRs must learn from the Vietnam war is that to focus on individual issues (a specific war) and tactics (like draft resistance) may result in sacrificing long-term relevance for

short-term goals (Jahnkow, 2006a). Counter-recruitment is thus a means of resisting not just one war, but the larger culture of militarism whose survival depends in part on young people's passive acceptance of military values and ideals.

CR strategy is also focused on a long-term vision of incremental gains. If the CRM had a symbol, it would surely be the tortoise. As the anti-ASVAB campaigns in Maryland and San Diego attest, when activists win, it may be only be one local school district. Thus, as the movement goes forward, activist victories will be measured by the "summation of a series of small, incremental struggles" (Theberge, 2005, p. 16). For CR strategist Rick Jahnkow, "people have to be operating from a very long-term perspective and be willing to accept that you might not achieve real measurable and visible victories quickly, that it requires time, it requires dedication" (personal communication, May 27, 2010).

Finally, CR strategy is inclusive in that it is a multi-generational, multiracial movement and needs to be to remain a credible force for change in the communities most heavily targeted by military recruiters. However, there are obstacles to keeping the movement inclusive. Older CRs often have trouble working with the co-leadership of younger, high school-age CRs. This reluctance reflects an authoritarian thread of movement culture and must be addressed for a truly multigenerational movement to flourish (Jahnkow, personal communication, May 27, 2010). Further, despite its success, CR has trouble attracting attention and respect from the broader peace movement, a problem which will ensure that the counter-recruitment movement remains under-resourced in terms of volunteer recruitment and fundraising. Interestingly, Rick Jahnkow (2009) identified class divisions as a barrier to greater (movement) solidarity: peace activists "generally come from a more affluent part of society than those who are targeted by recruiters." As a result,

Those of us who have been doing this work have sometimes felt that the struggle to educate the peace movement about the social injustice dimensions of this problem has been just as frustrating at times as trying to break through the pro-military biases of school officials. (p. 2)

As important, CR activists recognize the ways that public policy serves to reinforce a culture of militarism. At over six- hundred pages, the mammoth No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 is the best-known example of such legislation. Section 9528 of the bill requires all U.S. high schools to provide the Pentagon with contact information for their students or face the loss of federal education funding. That directive was added in the final hour "by a Louisiana congressman who was offended that some high schools chose to protect their students' privacy by not giving out student information to military recruiters" (Anderson, 2009, p. 275). Parents and students can still "opt out" of having their private information rendered to military recruiters. Indeed, as shown, counter-recruitment organizers have increased the number of students who opt out every year by, for example, lobbying school districts to send opt-out forms home for parents to sign. While such efforts surely make a difference, the lack of an opt-out provision on the national level means that CR successes will retain the limited impact of local campaigns. But even if CRs and their allies were to gain repeal of Section 9528 of NCLB, it would probably fail to have the desired effect. When it comes to collecting the kind of student information most helpful to military recruiters, the Pentagon is hardly dependent on NCLB; it can and does get private student information from elsewhere. Other, lesser known pieces of legislation (e.g., the National Defense Authorization Act of 2002) give military recruiters practically the same level of access as NCLB (Anderson, 2009).

Although the legislative outlook may be bleak—Congress remains staunchly pro-military and the repeal of NCLB is unlikely—the counter-recruitment movement has to exploit what little advantage it has within the existing legal framework. For example, Section 9528 of NCLB not only includes the mandate noted above, it also requires that military recruiters be given the same level of student access enjoyed by other types of recruiters. An example of what the CRM could do with this "equal access" provision is provided by the students of Watervliet High School in New York State. Fed up with the military recruiters who stalked the school cafeterias almost on a daily basis, Watervliet students and their adult allies successfully lobbied their local school board to pass a policy limiting visits by all types of recruiters to one per month (Geurin, 2009). As their example shows, there is a growing recognition that effective counter-recruitment can be done even when schools are forced to open their doors to military recruiters.

Regardless of tensions with the broader peace movement, and despite legislative obstacles that make it difficult to eliminate militarism in schools, since the 1980s counterrecruiters have scored significant victories. Project YANO's successful use of litigation as a tactic won the equal access rights critical to counter-recruitment in schools. And as the military devised new methods of securing the private information of students, CRs joined outraged parents and teachers in launching a counter-attack. Organizers like Pat Elder and Arlene Inouye have also successfully used legislative tactics at the state and school district levels. Charting the ways in which the CRM achieves its victories represents an important contribution to the social sciences literature, which until now has all but ignored the counter-recruitment movement.

Conclusion

Counter-recruitment has been criticized for its narrow focus and lack of engagement with the larger aims of U.S. militarism abroad and structural inequality at home (Tannock, 2005). Nonetheless, though it only has limited support from some national peace organizations, properly understood, CR remains a viable method of addressing U.S. foreign policy and a culture of militarism. In what amounts to a division of labor among antiwar activists, Travieso (2008) identified counter-recruitment as one of three strategic interests to develop out of the U.S. peace movement following the invasion of Iraq (along with targeting multi-national corporations like Halliburton, and lobbying members of Congress to cut off war funding.) Ultimately, he suggested, this "professionalization" of strategy represents a marked improvement over the non-hierarchical and largely ineffective peace movement represented in the run-up to the war in Iraq. Where does this leave the future of counter-recruitment?

In terms of scholarship, academics and others concerned with the impacts of increased militarism should consider work on this and related topics. Ironically, colleges are being pushed to roll out the welcome mat to the armed forces and increase the university presence of ROTC nationwide (Lewin & Hartocollis, 2010; Nelson, 2010). Instead of uncritically accepting a military presence on campus, colleges and those who teach in them could more effectively confront American militarism through focused research and vigorous public debate. In spite of stereotypes about American universities as bastions of radicalism, these institutions and those working inside their ivy-covered walls have failed to adequately grapple with the reality of U.S. militarism.

The time to turn the tide is now. With Pentagon spending at record levels, the occupation of Afghanistan in its tenth year, a long-term American military presence in Iraq likely, and military

operations expanding in places like Yemen and Pakistan, the stakes could not be higher. If colleges are to be more than mere incubators of military values, scholars—social scientists in particular—must critically examine America's culture of militarism and its domestic and global impacts. Research on counter-recruitment as one aspect of peace activism offers such an opportunity.

Despite the utility of Friesen's (2010) study, for example, larger sample sizes are needed to better assess the similarities and differences among groups engaged in counter-recruitment organizing. Evaluation of the success of counter-recruitment is also needed. Field research and in-depth case studies could help explain the strengths and limitations of CR, along with its relationship to other forms of peace activism. NNOMY supports a directory of nearly 150 U.S.-based groups engaged in some type of counter-recruitment and demilitarization work. Absent a national magazine or information source devoted to counter-recruitment, this presents a vital opportunity for scholars and others to follow such activism.

The study of international counter-recruitment efforts offers another line of inquiry, given the lack of such research. In countries with a military situation similar to the United States (no draft, an all-volunteer army), there is little evidence of counter-recruitment organizing per se. Instead, we do see a growing interest in the issue of military recruitment and youth militarism in places like the United Kingdom, where Scottish parliamentarian Christine Grahame has criticized the Army for making visits (often uninvited) to elementary schools, high schools and even preschools (Johnson, 2010). In Spain, Canada, and Italy, activists have gone beyond an idle interest in this issue; they have spontaneously organized counter-recruitment events in their schools, colleges and communities.

From the limited information on international CR-related activities we draw two conclusions. First, the United States is the only country with a well-organized network of counter- recruitment groups. Outside U.S. borders the most obvious examples are demonstrations targeting military recruitment kiosks (in Spain and Canada) or against groups perceived to be promoting or profiting from youth militarism (Italy) (Alacant, 2010; Denomme, 2005; Micci, 2010). Second, we suggest that these limited international efforts underscore that the American model of recruiting for the military is uniquely dependent upon the schools. While these countries are similar to the United States by virtue of their reliance on all-volunteer forces, only two (Spain and Italy) ended conscription within the last ten years. More research is needed to determine the extent to which a military recruiter presence in schools grows in proportion to the length of time without conscription. It is interesting, in this regard, to note a possible correlation. Only the United Kingdom has had a longer period without conscription (since 1963) than the United States. Today the UK's school recruitment program is just as robust as the U.S. model. The armed forces seek recruits starting at age 16; army visits to schools are also an integral part of the program.

As opportunities for transnational peace organizing increase, counter-recruitment may emerge as an essential activity in other countries. Trends in key western states indicate a shift away from conscription, and toward all-volunteer, professional armies. At the same time, military forces from NATO countries are increasingly being called upon to support U.S. foreign policy goals—which often means sending troops into combat in Afghanistan or other neo-imperial outposts. This suggests an opportunity for counter-recruiters in the United States to collaborate with European peace movements with the aim of promoting CR as a viable anti-war organizing strategy.

For U.S. activists, outreach efforts could be as simple as monitoring peace movements outside the United States. They could also involve leading workshops on counter-recruitment at international peace conferences or writing guest editorials on blogs and in magazines read by the European peace community. Regional networks of counter-recruitment activists organizing their own conferences will likely assume a greater role in the future; as an example, we note the contingent of Micronesian counter-recruiters that grew out of the 2009 International Network of Women Against Militarism conference in Guam (Kershner, 2010). Promoting dialogue on issues of mutual concern thus offers the potential to build a CR network in other countries and regions within established peace and anti-war organizations. If successful, such efforts will not only build bridges of understanding between U.S. activists and their international allies, they will also bolster global defenses against militarism at a time of increasingly global war.

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Rick Jahnkow - Ninth CIRCUIT COURT RULING: CONFRONTING MILITARISM BY USING EQUAL ACCESS TO HIGH SCHOOLS

When the military comes to your local high school, you have a legal right to give students an opposing view.

This has been the position taken by federal district courts in Florida, Pennsylvania and Illinois and two federal appellate courts. The most broadly-worded decision came from a case that COMD took to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in the 1980s. Here is the background:

Until 1986, COMD was named the San Diego Committee against Registration and the Draft (CARD). In 1983, CARD attempted to place anti-draft registration ads in numerous high school newspapers around San Diego County. Student journalists at most of the schools published the ads, but administrators in the Grossmont Union H.S. District banned the ads from all of its

student newspapers. San Diego CARD felt it was the students' right to decide the issue, but since they weren't going to be given that right, we filed a lawsuit against the Grossmont district in federal district court, citing violations of our First and Fourteenth Amendment rights. We requested a preliminary injunction from the court to suspend the ad ban while we waited to see if a trial would be necessary. The district court judge in San Diego refused to issue the preliminary injunction and we appealed his decision.

On June 6, 1986, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a ruling stating that there was a substantial likelihood that San Diego CARD would have prevailed on the merits of its claim, and therefore the district court judge should have issued a preliminary injunction against Grossmont.

After the Ninth Circuit issued its decision, the U.S. military attempted to convince the appellate court to rehear the case and accept the Pentagon as a co-defendant alongside the school district. The military's goal was to ensure San Diego CARD's defeat by applying the vast legal resources of the U.S. government. If this strategy succeeded, any decision unfavorable to the military could then be appealed to the conservative justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Fortunately, the military's motion to intervene in the case was turned down by the Ninth Circuit and the rehearing was denied. This left intact a major legal precedent that can be used by counter-militarism activists to demand the same opportunity to address students in public schools that is granted to recruiters and the Selective Service System.

Basically, the Ninth Circuit stated that the question of military service (whether voluntary or compulsory) is a controversial political issue, and if a school establishes a forum for one side to present its views on the issue, it must give opponents equal access to the forum (download the text of the ruling here in PDF file format).

While the ruling has a direct legal effect in only the nine Western states within the boundaries of the Ninth Circuit, it can be used in other regions to help persuade non cooperative school districts to grant equal access to counter-recruitment activists. There have been other similar, though less encompassing, rulings in the Eleventh Circuit (Southeast U.S.) and in several cases decided at the federal district court level in Illinois, Pennsylvania and Florida. In some situations, citing these other cases can also help (contact COMD for details).

Some examples of what counter-recruitment activists have been able to do in schools as a result of these court cases include:

- placing literature displays in career and counseling centers
- setting up displays at career and college fairs
- placing posters and literature on bulletin boards
- having speakers and printed materials in classrooms
- running ads in student newspapers

There have also been successful efforts to counter the military's access to student directory information (phone numbers and addresses).

A cautionary note: Pursuing new lawsuits over school access today would not be a simple matter. Litigation consumes time and resources that must be diverted from organizing, and there is a high risk that a bad precedent could result. We recommend that counterrecruitment activists use the existing positive precedents whenever they would be helpful and consult with COMD if there any access problems; however, it's more effective to carefully choose initial approaches to reaching and educating students that minimize confrontation with school officials. One very useful resource for learning about such approaches is the 48-page report, "Using Equal Access to Counter Militarism in High Schools," produced by the Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO). Download it here from http://www.projectyano.org/or order a hard copy by sending $6.50 to Project YANO, P.O. Box 230157, Encinitas, CA 92023. A complete list of Project YANO educational/organizing resources is also on the Web site.

See more equal access documents here.

Source: http://www.comdsd.org/article_archive/9thcirintro.htm

When the military comes to your local high school, you have a legal right to give students an opposing view.

This has been the position taken by federal district courts in Florida, Pennsylvania and Illinois and two federal appellate courts. The most broadly-worded decision came from a case that COMD too

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Matt Guynn - Notes toward More Powerful Organizing: Pitfalls and Potential in Counter-recruitment Organizing

It's not necessary to go to Washington for a protest to significantly engage key issues related to the War on Terrorism. Try going to a local coffee shop or any other public place where you can strike up a conversation with youth or young adults about the choices and paths that the young people in your community see in front of them.

I tried this recently, when I began talking with a camouflage-fatigued young man next to me in the airport. He was in his third year in the US Army, about to be shipped to Iraq next week. "Why did you join?" "My town (in central Oregon) was boring." The refrain from young people in many communities across the United States is that there is nothing to do: Nowhere to get a job (or a job that anyone wants). Little help available for education. Few paths toward a life of meaning and wellbeing. Too little accompaniment, mentorship or assistance.

Military recruiters walk onto this scene offering what seem to be easy steps toward job training, adventure, education, and personal fulfillment – toward goals that are often held by young people across the country. Lacking non-military options for accomplishing life goals, and promised the sky by their recruiters, young men and women from across the country are shipping out to Ft. Bragg and Ft. Benning and from there to Karbala and Baghdad.

In January 2008, the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth reports ninety-seven distinct groups across the United States and Puerto Rico that are working to resist military recruitment and generate positive alternatives for youth, commonly called the "counter-recruitment," "truth-in-recruiting," or "positive alternatives to the military" movement.

I write as a participant-observer in the counter-recruitment movement, in my role as coordinator of peace witness for On Earth Peace, a Church of the Brethren peace education and action agency. Since early 2005, On Earth Peace has specifically committed itself to capacity-building for the counter-recruitment movement. Capacity-building means that we invite and support organizers to get involved, and that we create opportunities for organizers to grow and reflect on their work so they can do it more effectively. We support and nurture organizers through one-on-one support calls, providing general orientation to the movement and strategy consultation, and most importantly, through regular national networking calls which incorporate theological reflection, reflection on lessons learned, and training in strategy perspectives.

I have a concern that counter-recruitment activists learn from our experience in order to grow and accomplish the large tasks that stand before us. Operating out of habit (activist habit, cultural habit), often limits our ability to powerfully address the vexing social problems before us. I see the counter-recruitment movement's long-term potential to be the transformation of communities into vibrant places where people can find support, salary, and meaning.

This article provides brief overviews of the mechanisms recruiters use to get access to young people, groups of people involved and some core approaches of the movement, in addition to identifying some pitfalls and potentials related to counter-recruitment organizing. It points toward a broader framework for nonviolent social transformation with regard to counter-recruitment organizing, moving up a level from a focus on specific resistance tactics and toward a broader perspective which holds a vision for community change.

In its most effective role, the counter-recruitment movement can both resist militarism and military recruitment and build alternative paths for young people who might be drawn to the military. When less effective, movement organizers remain trapped in their group's age or racial/ethnic groups of origin, or get stuck vilifying their opponents, or, lacking the commitment or skills to engage underlying issues, remain at a surface level, decrying symptoms and failing to make a case for addressing underlying conditions.

Two older gentlemen were in the crowd at an evening Bible study in a community congregation in the Puerto Rican mountain community where I was speaking. One was a veteran from the Korean War, the other a veteran of Vietnam. As we described On Earth Peace's work with ministries to support veterans returning from war and with young people considering the military, they became active and engaged in the conversation. "I didn't know any other alternative at the time." "It was the clearest path for a young man from the mountains." "The effects of war have lasted forever."

Two days before, two younger men, had participated in a workshop we had led at another congregation nearer the Puerto Rican coast. Francisco (name has been changed), in his thirties, shared that after a brief stint with a corporation hadn't panned out, and seeing few other options for work and salary on the horizon, he had signed up for the US Army. After four years in Guantanamo and Iraq, including active combat tours, he withdrew from the service, staying home

after a weekend pass, and seeking assistance to renounce his military commitment from his church denomination's office in Washington, DC.

The second, a younger friend of his, José (name changed), in his mid-twenties, was the highest elected official in his congregation. José was drawn to the military by their promises of scholarships and job training. He had been promised a food service position. But after Francisco's experience in the armed forces, Francisco helped José, whom he knew through the church community, to see the realities underlying the enlistment contract that he was promised. Francisco's accompaniment led to José withdrawing from the Delayed Enlistment Program. Francisco worked with José and his recruiters to ensure that his withdrawal was processed completely and helped him interpret the choice he was making.

These men and many young women and men like them exist in real contexts of economic opportunity or lack thereof, availability or lack of educational access, job training, travel, adventure, honor, a salary. Keeping the specific conditions at the forefront helps to maintain awareness of some of the terrain through which counter-recruitment organizing navigates. Young men and women, discouraged because of lack of opportunity or clear paths for success, are drawn toward a military recruiting machine, which seems to be the biggest job provider in many communities.

I offer these anecdotes to help ground the discussion in the real experiences of veterans and young people attracted to the military. It is these individuals and their communities whom any counter-recruitment movement needs to support and serve; these are the real people that the counter-recruitment movement needs to connect with in order to accomplish its promise.

Too often the movement remains fixated on the military's entry points, resisting the five main mechanisms that the recruiters use (Table 1), while failing to step up to the challenge of addressing the underlying conditions that create success for recruiters.

Table 1. Five Key Mechanisms of Military Recruitment. From *Before You Enlist And After You Say No, AFSC'S Counter-recruitment Training Manual,* Hannah Strange and Daniel Hunter, Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 2006), 74-75.

School Visits	• Depending on the school system, recruiters can come to schools anywhere from once a year to every day. • Recruiters staff tables in cafeterias, run extracurricular activities, make classroom presentations, host assemblies, get recruiting vans to come to school and set up interactive

	displays.
JROTC Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps	• Established by Congress in 1916 to develop citizenship and responsibility in young people • According to Department of Defense testimony before Congress, approximately 40 percent of those who graduate from JROTC eventually join the military.
ASVAB Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery	▯ ASVAB is the admissions and placement test for the U.S. military. Though designed to help place new military recruits in their military jobs, it is administered in high schools (often mandatory) as career placement testing. ▯ The military uses ASVAB to do targeted recruitment of students in the 11th or 12th grade who meet minimum standards. ▯ Recruiters consider the ASVAB to be a helpful tool in streamlining the recruitment process. By using school time, they find qualified recruits, saving themselves time and money.
JAMRS Joint Advertising Market Research & Studies	▯ Central database of personal information of 30 million U.S. residents who are 16-25 years of age. ▯ Provides recruiters with young people's names, addresses, email addresses, cell phone numbers, ethnicities, social security numbers and areas of study. ▯ Designed to "help bolster the effectiveness of all the Services' recruiting and retention efforts."

	(www.jamrs.org) • Conducts market research on attitudes towards enlistment.

These mechanisms of recruitment are being responded to by a wide variety of citizens and community members. Here are examples of some of the groups involved:

- Impacted/ recruited youth of many racial and ethnic backgrounds, urban and rural, from California to Connecticut, who resist the recruiters that are a daily presence in their schools, either by ignoring them or with active rebellion such as walkouts, or organizing their fellow students to "opt out" of military data collection;

- Parents of middle and high school students who encourage their children to think twice about what recruiters promise;

- Members of the military who refuse to fight by withdrawing after partial service or by renouncing their enlistment, then often speak out or counsel other young people considering service;

- Conscientious objectors from the World War Two, Korea, and Vietnam eras who continue decades of persistent effort to bring a word of peace in their communities through outreach about conscientious objection and current military recruitment myths and facts;

- Church folk and other people of faith and conscience across the country concerned about the future of youth in their communities, who reach out to youth in terms of either moral formation as conscientious objectors or as mentors and allies for young people finding the life they dream about;

- College students who are directly impacted by recruitment and attempting to shut recruiters out of their own campuses, or who are reaching out to high school youth in their communities to assist with resisting recruiters and generating alternatives; and

- Parent-Teacher Associations and others concerned about recruiters' presence in school hallways and cafeterias, who limit recruiter access to their children by taking action at the school, district, or city council level.

The counter-recruitment movement has been a channel for many people dissatisfied with the George W. Bush administration's approach to the War on Terrorism and specifically the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. It has captured the imagination of both long-time peace activists who are using it as a new expression of long-standing concerns about peace and militarism, as well as connecting with the felt needs of impacted youth and communities who may not identify as peace activists but are resisting recruitment as a way to protect their communities.

Pitfalls, potentials and a broader strategy

Whether movement activists have been involved longer-term or are just starting, there are several key pitfalls into which the counter-recruitment movement sometimes falls. (Incidentally, these pitfalls are also common in broader progressive and peace movement organizing.) Each pitfall has

an attendant potential which could help the movement grow and increase its effectiveness. Please review these several pitfalls and potentials in chart form, before moving to the broader discussion of them in the context of nonviolent methodology.

Table 2. Pitfalls and Potentials of Counter-recruitment Organizing

PITFALL	POTENTIALS
Isolate within own age, class, or culture groups	Form intergenerational, multi-racial and multi-class coalitions
Focus activity within current activist circles	Activate multiple social sectors (education, government, youth, religious communities, nonprofit, business, women and minority groups)
Present a largely "anti" or "negative" message which focuses mostly on raising awareness about the evils of system	Frame concern as a problem that various segments of the community can join together to solve. For example, "Access to jobs and educational opportunities." "Meaningful and well-paid employment without having to go to war." "Positive life paths for every young person in our community."
Focus only on resisting immediate symptoms (for example, NLCB/ Opt Out, School Visits, ASVAB, JROTC, JAMRS)	Use symptoms or surface issues as entry points for engaging long-term needs of communities (economic opportunity, hopeful future, education and job training), engaging the underlying issues of poverty, racism, and justice

Examining these specific pitfalls and potentials presented in brief form above comes in the context of moving from a reactive activism of protest toward a proactive activism which accepts the challenge to work at the roots of social problems. What follows are several reflections and recommendations related to making counter-recruitment organizing more effective and powerful.

1) **Accept the challenge to move beyond habit and reflex to discipline and focus**. The counter-recruitment movement runs the risk of falling short of its potential by staying safe in habitual patterns and "anti/negative" practices rather than growing to address root community needs and act for significant and long-term social transformation. Growing toward effective organizing will require discipline, focus, strategy, and continual personal and spiritual growth. It

will benefit from learning from and further honing the tools and methodologies for nonviolent struggle that have been developed in the past.

Don't get me wrong: It is normal to work with folks who look, talk or think like us. It's normal to see clearly the critique of society (which generates righteous indignation and anger), rather than focusing on lifting up a catalyzing vision that will engage broader sectors of society in your initiative. It's normal to want to stop the bad things we see (recruiter presence in schools, for example). All these "pitfalls" are normal and to be expected. They just won't help develop a broad base in order to activate communities for proactive social change and long-term impacts.

2) **Create a frame that elicits support and engagement from your community.** A proactive nonviolent strategy involves an initial framing of the problem in a way that various sectors of the community can join your initiative and effort. This means creating a "frame" or a statement of the problem that the community is experiencing and/or the goal to achieve, in a way that invokes the interest and participation of people far beyond current "activist" circles2.

Many counter-recruitment activities publicly lead out with a focus on resistance against military recruiters. Sample ways of describing the goal or purpose of activities in this vein, for example, might include, "Shutting down the recruiting center," or "Ending JROTC."

Organizing which is primarily anti/negative organizing can feel personally cathartic or satisfying. But it is a tempting misstep to see the recruiters and recruitment activities themselves as the central problem. So you shut down the recruiting center for a day. Then what? So you end the JROTC program in your school system. How have you helped the young people it was serving to meet their needs via alternative routes? Recruiters and their practices are a symptom of underlying needs produced by economic injustice, racism, and lack of opportunity.

If activists experiment with this perspective that military recruiters are not themselves the problem, but rather a symptom of underlying conditions (for example, poverty, racism, community stagnation, lack of support for young people), we are led along the track to framing the problem in different ways. For example, "access to jobs and educational opportunities," or "meaningful and well-paid employment without having to go to war," or "helping our youth get a good education without having to kill or be killed."

This "positive alternatives for young people" approach is already strongly present in the counter-recruitment movement. Pamphlets and print resources are now proliferating which point toward scholarship programs and vocational discernment3. But these print resources are only one tactic within a comprehensive initiative to help young people find their preferred futures without going into the military, and are not sufficient by themselves. They need to be integrated into a broader framing of the core problem, which leads to specific initiatives to accompany and assist young people to actually get where they want to go.

Beginning from a frame such as "access to jobs and educational opportunities," leads activists down a path that is very different from negative campaigns that are focused personally on recruiters or school administrators. It will require activists to help foment the process of producing significant solutions to shared community problems.

3) **Use a campaign approach rather than scatter-shot activities.** What is the sequence of steps or strategy that your group believes will address these problems and accomplish your goals?

Using a disciplined nonviolent approach means laying out a set of plans to accomplish a specific goal, rather than planning a variety of one-time events which simply make statements. Campaigns identify clear goals and focus resources of activists on attaining those outcomes.

This contrasts with either an approach focused on protests and rallies or planning a series of events which are on the topic but not focused on specific outcomes. For example, counter-recruitment activities fall into this trap by doing leafleting in isolation from a specific goal to impact a certain number of youths' vocational choices, or by (only) setting up an "alternatives" tabling presence whenever recruiters are in the schools4.

4) **Build cross-class, cross-racial, and intergenerational coalitions**. Counter-recruitment, like much peace movement organizing, regularly stumbles over ingrained habits of race and class separation which replicates mainstream society's divisions and separations. Concretely, this means that activists work primarily or only with those already in their existing groups and/or do not accept the challenge to reach beyond social circles circumscribed by habit, rhetoric, and existing relationship. This limits effectiveness and can prevent organizers from winning. Addressing social problems effectively requires engaging the creativity, perspective, and energy of many impacted groups, not just acting on behalf of those groups.

I write as white middle-class person to other white middle-class activists. It can be tempting to reach out first or primarily to those most like us. It's easiest and most natural to speak our preferred language (rhetoric or tone of voice), on our terms, with those who already are open to our kind of language.

However, counter-recruitment organizing by (middle class) white folk will founder on the shoals of rhetoric unless bridges can be built to those directly impacted by and attracted to military recruiters' sales pitches. By doing so, community solutions can be generated to address underlying conditions.

No matter what the race or class of a group, youth and adult allies need each other in order to develop the most powerful campaigns. Frankly, each group has access that any serious campaign will need. Youth have access to school hallways, access to impacted/recruited youth, and are often motivated by a personal stake in the issue; adult allies may offer stronger access (initially at least) to decision-making structures and information about other sectors of the community.

In my opinion, this is part of the promise that counter-recruitment organizing offers to the broader "anti-war" peace movement: In order to thrive in counter-recruitment efforts, (white and middle class) counter-recruiters are going to have to make common cause across race and class and generational lines. White anti-war activists too often avoid this kind of coalition-building by remaining in the somewhat abstract realm of proclamation and righteous statements rather than connecting with groups where the issues touch the ground.

5) Move beyond the "activist ghetto" to tap broader constituencies. Parallel to the challenges of moving outside of race/class/age demographics is the challenge of mobilizing people from social clusters and institutions beyond the initiating activist group.

In Martin Luther King, Jr.'s nonviolence methodology, there are six categories of leadership in any community that are available to be tapped to help address and solve pressing social problems: Religious leaders, government, progressive and voluntary organizations, women's and minority groups, youth organizations, and education. Each of these categories will have a perspective and possible insights into addressing a clearly framed issue.

Effective campaigns tap and mobilize these categories of leadership to solve a shared problem (the frame concept, mentioned above) rather than only gathering a few of the righteous to rail against the purveyors of wrongdoing.

Not Just This movement: Maximizing the Power of the Human Race

While the experiments and realities I have discussed to this point are already in play in school board meetings and high school hallways and cafeterias, there is a much larger context to our efforts to maximize the power and impact of counter-recruitment organizing. Positive, strategic and active engagement on the issue of military recruitment and positive alternatives for youth is a contribution toward humanity's capacity to face its problems boldly and without slaughtering our opponents (physically or psychically).

Wherever one lives on the globe, by living at this point in human history, we get to be part of an immense and centuries-long experiment: learning how to transform oppressive social situations without recourse to killing. This experiment has been one of the human race's biggest learning edges in the last two centuries.

Social movements that have advanced the nonviolence experiment include but extend far beyond this list: The Indian independence movement and Badshah Khan's nonviolent warriors in Pakistan; the South African freedom struggle; the abolitionists, women's suffrage, labor, civil rights, and gay rights movements in the United States; the toppling of dictatorships in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and Yugoslavia's Otpor youth movement in 1998-2000; the People Power movement in the Philippines; Wangari Maathai's ecological "Greenbelt" in Kenya; and indigenous resistance to colonialism and empire in North, Central, and South America.

In a time when so many humans are war-weary and might be open to alternatives, it is time to step up to the plate in terms of learning to rise above violence itself, and to rise above vilifying or destroying our opponents, which is a form of dehumanization that psychologically or spiritually steps down the same path that leads to war.

By experimenting with nonviolence as a creative and active discipline, we are contributing to the extension of the human race's ability to address its own problems without resort to violence. For this reason, it matters how we plan our counter-recruitment campaigns, the slogans we create, and what relationships we build to advance our cause. We are acting for our own schools, communities, and futures, and we are helping to raise the bar for how well we as a human race can solve our problems.

References

1 http://www.nnomy.org/

2. For further information on establishing frames for nonviolent campaigns, see *The Leaders Manual - A Structured Guide & Introduction to Kingian Nonviolence: The Philosophy and*

Methodology, by Bernard LaFayette, Jr., and David C. Jehnsen (Galena, OH: Institute for Human Rights and Responsibilities), http://www.kingiannonviolence.info/.

3. See for example, "It's My Life! A Guides for Alternatives after High School," a national-level publication by the American Friends Service Committee (available via www.afsc.org) . Many guides exist for different states or regions, from tri-fold pamphlets to extended guidebooks.

4. Those interested in campaign approaches are commended to the brief essay, "Campaigning for Social Change: Beyond Just Protesting for It!" by Daniel Hunter, included in Before you Enlist and After You Say No, pp. 204-209.

Guynn Notes Toward More Powerful Organizing: Pitfalls and Potential in Counter-recruitment O (64.18 kB 2010-09-27 22:03:34)

Source: http://www.manchester.edu/academics/departments/peace_studies/bulletin/2008/articles/mattguynn.htm

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Matt Guynn - Theological Reflection on Counter-Recruitment

These reflections were created and shared in the context of counter-recruitment networking calls organized by On Earth Peace, 2003-2007. On Earth Peace is an agency rooted in the Church of the Brethren, committed to confronting violence with God's love.

The Paths that Lead to Life

"You have made known to me the paths of life; you will fill me with joy in your presence." Acts 2:28

My friend Bob gave me this metaphor: In the woods, in fields, in cities, there are often beaten paths that go to the usual places - which keep getting deeper and stronger with use.

Right now, the paths that are more well-beaten in our society often lead toward separation from each other, toward isolation, toward self-satisfaction, toward "bigger-than" and "me" mentalities. They often lead at the social level toward resource to violence, an overweening obsession with national security as opposed to human security, toward dehumanizing each other and writing off segments of the society.

There aren't many who will be the first to try a new path -- willing to be the first to make that path. But there are many more who will at least try a path that at least has been tried before. We may also find that there are old paths that lead to life and we have to uncover.

What if counter-recruitment organizing were seen as a way to invite people off the beaten path, to incite people to another path - not just countering military recruiters and their work, but inviting people to another way of living? Counter-recruitment at its best may responding to the

deep yearnings in people's soul, for lives with meaning that contribute to the betterment of society.

Affirmations and reflections:

God's presence is a creative force the flutters over the waters, who cries out that we are beloved, who is within each of our bodies, minds, and spirits. This force, this God, this Divine is at the center of all that exists. God had a dream of all creation - that kind of shalom community - where all life was valued and known intimately -- that kind of relationship between humans and creation, and humans and God - Eden is still God's dream.

God's intention for human life, according to Walter Wink, is to humanize us more, make us fully human. But institutions have realities that often fall away from God's intentions - the whole set of practices, assumptions, missions, and the culture of an institution. One name that scripture gives is to call them the "powers and principalities" - those institutions that have supreme importance in our lives and how they unfold - which often become an end in themselves, or fail to help us all thrive. "Failure to thrive": This description given to some infants is applicable to many communities as well!

The military industrial complex is a power and a principality. Security itself is a good thing - we need safety, we need to be secure - all of humanity needs to be secure - but this basic need twists and goes awry in the service of the nation. We're in thrall to militarism, to the system, to the nation. Our relationship to the military industrial complex becomes idolatry - being committed to, dependent upon, looking to for security, and worshipping that which is not God.

We can all draw on God's presence (ultimate creativity, lovingkindness, generativity, deep Spirit and possibility) to become equipped to contend with the powers and principalities.

God's dream for us includes human wholeness, worth, dignity. But this dream is at odds with the stated goals of the government or the military-industrial complex, which always fall short of God's dream of shalom. The church also falls short. Church's role, and the role of the faithful - is prophetic witness as well as peacebuilding - a gradual nurturing of slow growth, a weaving and a knitting together.

Counter-recruitment is getting in the way of military recruitment - but it's also recruiting for something else. It's about recruiting for another way of living.

Recruiting for the paths that lead to life - creating communities with deep soul and connection, places where you just want to rest and enjoy life. For communities that engage in mutual uplift instead of a common downshift.

Source: http://www.onearthpeace.org/faith-legacy/practical-ideas-living-peacechurch/theological-reflection-counter-recruitment

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Cultural Militarization

Maximilian Forte - Mapping the Terrain of War Corporatism: The Human Terrain System within the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex

At least 34 corporations have vested interests, through contracts gained, in supporting the U.S. Army's Human Terrain System (HTS) in particular, and in the development of "human terrain" capabilities across various branches of the Army apart from HTS (see for example: "The Pentagon's "Other" Human Terrain System?"). Most of the newspaper coverage of HTS has focused almost exclusively on the role of BAE Systems, and the claimed "nationalization" of HTS1 (turning HTS employees into government workers, specifically labeled "intelligence analysts") has not meant either the decline or disappearance of private contracting. Recruitment, training, and the design and equipping of technology used by HTS, and other human terrain branches in the Army, are all in the hands of private contractors. Several HTS employees have been, or continue to be, also employees of these corporations. There is considerable overlap and movement of senior personnel between several of these corporations and HTS in particular. Some of these individuals know each other from past work conducted for some of these private contractors.

Any suggestion that HTS is not about supporting war, and separate from the military industrial complex and corporate war-profiteering, is at the very least naïve or disingenuous. As soon as corporations become such a significant part of the picture, arguments about "saving lives," "peace keeping," and "cultural sensitivity" become, at the very best, secondary concerns. The main concern for any corporation is the accumulation of capital. The main concern for any war corporatist is the accumulation of capital derived from engagement in warfare – the main drive is to maintain the war that produces the contracts that generate revenue and growth. HTS is thus very much part of the neoliberal economy of warfare, and academics are recruited – regardless of whatever they believe were the reasons for their recruitment – in order to support imperial warfare and thus to expand the profits of empire. Indeed, it would seem that several of the more outspoken HTS recruits from academia have been extremely naïve in their representations of the nature and purpose of their work – either naïve, or consciously duplicitous and cynical.

It should also be noted that several of these corporations (Lincoln) have been found to have roles in planting propaganda in foreign newspapers, which later fed back into U.S. domestic media coverage of foreign wars, and have performed roles in domestic spying (BAE Systems, Science Applications International Corporation [SAIC], MZM Inc.) and building domestic "counterterrorism" and "homeland security" capabilities (ManTech, and others). What is thus also being constructed, with the aid of HTS as pretext and justification, is the further development of repressive technologies aimed at the U.S. public. This is part of the blowback of empire against democracy at home.

HTS spokespersons have stressed that HTS does not do "intelligence" work, and nor do they support better targeted killing. With respect to the intelligence issue, usually we are faced with

conflicting definitions of "intelligence" and some human terrain proponents do in fact speak of "ethnographic intelligence" and "cultural intelligence."2 The point is that some of these companies are in fact primarily interested in intelligence work, according to their own terms. Booz Allen Hamilton explicitly seeks people who have extensive experience in the U.S. "intelligence community," to train HTS recruits. The Walsingham Group is simultaneously engaged in "Human Factors & Human Social Cultural Behavioral Programs" and "Intelligence, CI/HUMINT, SOF & Irregular Warfare Support", mixing interests with a Special Ops background, and support for Homeland Security. HTS contractors certainly have a "dark side" that the promotional propaganda for the human terrain doctrine obscures. Some are explicit that their technology, such as Ascend's Tactical Ground Reporting device (Now General Dynamics), is intended to "increase combat effectiveness." One of the contractors, CACI, was at the heart of the Abu Ghraib torture scandal. In Iraq, the Wexford Group, now owned by CACI, was directly involved in supporting the targeted killing of people suspected of laying IEDs, supporting what were called "small kill teams" (note also HTS' origins in the Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defense Organization, JIEDDO). SCIA has also developed maps explicitly for the purpose of pinpointing the presence of "insurgents" or "bad guys" based on recorded behavior patterns.

Some of the companies also seem perfectly innocuous, lacking a profile or mission that is primarily military or intelligence-oriented. Some also lack more than very superficial websites that do little beyond providing a generic commercial image, a name, and maybe contact information – with nothing indicated about clients or contracts, or even who are the main officers of the company. Not all of the companies are American – at least one, MTC Technologies, is a Canadian company. Another of the companies is owned by American Indians.

Especially interesting are the several cases of clear overlaps between the companies' personnel and consultants. For example, one will find overlaps between Georgia Tech, Aptima, and Mitre, in the figure of Eduardo Salas. Kari Kelton of Aptima also served HTS.3

HTS' Steve Rotkoff is also tied to McNeil Technologies (Now AECOM). Strong links tie Glevum Associates, the Lincoln Group, and HTS, to the extent that their senior personnel seem to be triplicated across all three: HTS' Milan Sturgis, at the heart of a sexual harassment scandal,4 works as a consultant for Glevum; Alicia Boyd and Laurie Adler, both formerly with Lincoln, moved into HTS, and now Adler has moved into Glevum (for more on Adler see here and here). Daniel Wolfe, IT Director for HTS is closely tied to both Glevum and USI. Charlie King worked for both HTS and Wexford – CACI.5 We also learn that STI, a contractor for HTS, was owned by Blackwater, the mercenary corporation now called Xe. In addition, HTS' Audrey Roberts, who we know from her glowing sales articles about HTS in *the Journal of International Peace Operations* (see here and here), has also served as a Research Associate for the International Peace Operations Association (IPOA) and Assistant Editor of its journal (JIPO) — the point being that IPOA is an association of private military corporations, including the likes of Blackwater.

1 DeYoung, Karen. (2009). U.S. moves to replace contractors in Iraq: Blackwater losing security role; other jobs being converted to public sector. The Washington Post, March 17, A07 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/03/16/AR2009031602720_pf.html

2 Renzi, Fred, Lieutenant Colonel. (2006). Networds: Terra Incognita and the Case for Ethnographic Intelligence. Military Review, Sept-Oct. http://www.diigo.com/cached?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.army.mil%2Fprofessional writing%2Fvolumes%2Fvolume4%2Fdecember_2006%2F12_06_1.; Delp, Benjamin T. (2008). Ethnographic Intelligence (ETHINT) and Cultural Intelligence (CULINT): Employing under-utilized strategic intelligence gathering disciplines for more effective diplomatic and military planning. IIIA Technical Paper 08-02. Institute for Infrastructure and Information Assurance, James Madison University, April. http://www.box.net/shared/ha5x74mccc; Flynn, Michael T., Major General; Captain Matt Pottinger; and, Paul D. Batchelor. (2010). Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan. Center for a New American Security, January. http://www.box.net/shared/9yudnxm9xg; Naquin, Doug. (2007). Remarks by Doug Naquin, Director, Open Source Center. CIRA Newsletter, 32 (4) Winter. http://www.box.net/shared/xy7tlnmb5e; see also a growing list of papers and reports that tie HTS to intelligence work, understood on the many different levels of "intelligence": http://www.diigo.com/user/openanthropology/HTS%20intelligence

3 http://www.diigo.com/cached?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.linkedin. com%2Fpub%2Fkari-kelton%2F15%2F530%2F876

4 http://zeroanthropology.net/2009/02/26/some-breaking-news-on-the-human-terrainsystem-death-threats/

5 http://www.diigo.com/cached?url=http://www.linkedin.com/pub/king-charlie-colr/a/175/916

Research for this report was done in part with the aid of references from the writings of John Stanton and Roberto J. González, as well as additional independent research. Further updates were produced with the assistance of Benjamin Hirschfield and Roberto J. González.

First, this is the complete list of companies compiled to date:

(1) Alpha Ten Technologies, Inc.
(2) Aptima, Inc.
(3) Archimedes
(4) Ascend Intelligence (General Dynamics C4 Systems)
(5) BAE Systems
(6) Booz Allen Hamilton
(7) Careerstone Group
(8) Connecting Cultures
(9) Echota Technologies Corporation
(10) Georgia Tech Applied Research Corporation
(11) Glevum Associates
(12) K3 Enterprises
(13) Lincoln Group

(14) MASY Group
(15) McNeil Technologies
(16) MITRE
(17) Monitor 360
(18) MTC Technologies
(19) MZM, Inc.
(20) NEK Advanced Securities Group, Inc.
(21) Northrop Grumman Corporation
(22) Overwatch Systems
(23) RAND Corporation
(24) RTI International
(25) SAIC
(26) SCIA Solutions LLC
(27) Sensor Technologies (ManTech International Corporation)
(28) USI Inc.
(29) Wexford Group – CACI
(30) CLI Solutions
(31) Walsingham Group
(32) Integrated Training Solutions
(33) i2 and ESRI
(34) DevelopMental Labs Inc. (DMLI)
(35) Lockheed Martin
(36) CGI

CONTINUE TO THE COMPLETE REPORT…

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Jorge Mariscal - "Lethal and Compassionate" The Militarization of US Culture

The story of Jesus Gonzalez is a cautionary tale for the future. A young Chicano born in Mexico and raised in California, Gonzalez grew up surrounded by relatives who were active in the United Farm Workers, the labor union founded by pacifist Cesar Chavez. In high school, he organized against Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant initiative, and in support of Native American environmental causes. Despite his early childhood formation within progressive circles, Gonzalez surprised everyone who knew him when he decided to drop out of college because he had to be a marine. "I know school is important," he told his parents, "but I need to do this" (Jennifer Mena, "Fallen Marine Is Recalled as Pacifist, Activist," L.A. Times 4/24/03).

In the simple phrase "But I need to do this" lie the dire consequences of militarization's power and success. Drawing upon distorted notions of masculinity, the glamour of the uniform, and the myth of rugged individualism, military recruitment ads-a solitary marine scaling the face of a mountain, for example-cast a spell to which working class youth are especially susceptible. A relative lack of

economic and educational opportunities seals the ideological deal. In Gonzalez's case, the fantasy of military service simply overwhelmed the humanistic values with which he had been raised. On April 12, 2003, he was killed by small arms fire at a checkpoint somewhere in Iraq.

Scholar John Gillis contrasts older forms of militarism in which civil society is separate and subordinate to military authority with contemporary militarization. According to Gillis, militarization is the process by which "civil society organizes itself for the production of violence." Whereas militarism once was understood as a set of beliefs limited to specific social groups or sectors of the ruling class, militarization is a series of mechanisms that involve the entire social edifice.

In liberal democracies in particular, the values of militarism do not reside in a single group but are diffused across a wide variety of cultural locations. In twenty first-century America, no one is exempt from militaristic values because the processes of militarization allow those values to permeate the fabric of everyday life.

Examples are numerous and I will name only a few. The incursion of military recruiters and teachings into the public school system is well known. The proliferation of JROTC units in American schools began in the early 1990s and continues today. Television spots, print ads, and websites for all the service branches are sophisticated marketing tools designed to attract young people who are unsure of their future.

At marines.com, for example, after the initial sounds of gunfire open the home page the potential recruit reads: "At the core of every Marine is the warrior spirit, a person imbued with the special kind of personal character that has defined greatness and success for centuries. And in this organization, you will be regarded as family." "You are special, you are a fighter, we will take care of you"–this is an especially seductive message for young men and women without economic privilege and who often do not enjoy stability at home.

For middle class suburban youth, one of the fastest growing "sports" is "paintball" in which teenagers stalk and shoot each other on "battlefields" (In San Diego, paintball participants pay an additional $50 to hone their skills at the Camp Pendleton Marine Base). Far from the figurative violence of popular culture, the Bush administration is rewriting nuclear arms policy and plans to militarize outer space are moving forward without public scrutiny. At the level of media ritual, the president favors speaking to captive audiences at military bases, defense plants, and on aircraft carriers.

These and other practices that glorify the instruments of real and symbolic violence will have unforeseen and long-term consequences. In the meantime, billions of dollars for the military-corporate-educational complex ($399 billion for the Pentagon alone according to the administration's FY2004 Discretionary Budget Request), color-coded "terrorist alerts," police and "homeland security" raids on immigrant communities, and FOX news bulletins for even the most mundane Defense Department briefing all work to create a climate of fear and anxiety that is unprecedented in U.S. history.

If we feel less safe today than ever before, it is because the entire culture has organized itself with the dual objective of either perpetrating violence or defending itself from violence. Given the current administration's proposed budget cuts (including major reductions in veterans' benefits), it

appears that self-defense is a less worthy objective than arsenal building. One commentator recently put it this way: "George W. Bush has inspired new terrorist threats to the United States–according to the official testimony of his own CIA–where none existed. At the same time, he purposely starves those localities and institutions on which the complex and expensive task of terrorist protection ultimately falls and yet the increasingly Foxified media tell a story only of heroism: of the US military, of the American people and of the President of the United States, who has so far managed to avoid service to either one" (Eric Alterman, "Bush goes AWOL," The Nation 4/17/03).

In the United States, where elaborate formal structures of representative democracy, a free press, and pluralism exist (at least on paper), militarization's primary structures must take shape through lies and the obfuscation of reality. The Bush administration has taken the art of the lie and the control of information, strategies that sustain all large bureaucracies, to a new level. Colin Powell's performance at the United Nations before the invasion of Iraq was only the most spectacular example of the Bush regime's willingness to lie to the world.

Frustrated by the pattern of deceit that led to the invasion of Iraq, a leading economist writing in the New York Times was compelled to pose the question: "Aren't the leaders of a democratic nation supposed to tell their citizens the truth?" (Paul Krugman, "Matters of Emphasis," 4/29/03). Or as one journalist predicts: "We're heading for big trouble as a nation if we aren't even concerned that our heads of state may be manipulating us by manipulating the truth. In a nation where hypocrisy is rewarded, expect more lies" (Robert Steinback, "Did Our Leaders Lie to Us? Do We Even Care?" Miami Herald 4/30/03).

Militarization and open democratic societies, then, do not make a good match, the former producing pathologies at both the individual and collective levels. The face of militarization on the ground is perhaps most disturbing insofar as it reveals a disconnected hardening of individuals to human suffering. The most highly militarized sector of U.S. society-the armed forces -attempts to deny this by concocting a self-image premised on humanitarian concern for their victims. From Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld down to officers in the field, the illusion is that the U.S. military is the most effective and destructive in history even as it is the most concerned with avoiding civilian deaths.

From this bizarre cocktail of contradictory missions comes the novel phase "lethal and compassionate." The phrase is deployed to erase from the historical record hundreds of Iraqi and Afghan civilian casualties (the exact number of which we will never know) or to congratulate ourselves for airlifting an Iraqi boy to a hospital in Kuwait. There is no mention of the "lethal" side of the equation-the fact that the boy lost his entire family and both his arms to U.S. bombs.

"Lethal and compassionate" may work as a public relations slogan and a psychological sleight of hand for some in the military but recent accounts of combat in Iraq suggest that the brutality of warfare cannot be sanitized for long. Simply read Peter Maass's devastating description of marine activities near Baghdad in which two journalists report how a squad leader, after his troops fired on several civilian vehicles, shouted: "My men showed no mercy. Outstanding" ("Good Kills." New York Times 4/20/03) or the admission by recently returned marine reservist Gus Covarrubias that he executed in cold blood two Iraqi prisoners because some marines had been shot and "The Marines are my family" ("Marine Discusses Execution-Style Killing," Associated Press 4/26/03).

Or consider the case of Sgt. 1st Class Jeff Lujan who gave the order to shoot into a civilian truck at a checkpoint only to discover that his men had killed a woman and a young girl. "I've reconciled myself," Lujan said. "We did the right thing, even though it was wrong"

(Geoffrey Mohan, "Memories Don't Die So Easily," New York Times 4/18/03). For other GIs, militarized values will not be reconciled so easily with the values instilled by family and church. The psychic and social costs of these dreadful ironies are hidden in a flurry of flag-waving and patriotic zeal.

As James Carroll brilliantly put it: "Photographic celebrations of our young warriors, glorifications of released American prisoners, heroic rituals of the war dead all take on the character of crass exploitation of the men and women in uniform. First they were forced into a dubious circumstance, and now they are themselves being mythologized as its main post-facto justification — as if the United States went to Iraq not to seize Saddam (disappeared), or to dispose of weapons of mass destruction (missing), or to save the Iraqi people (chaos), but "to support the troops." War thus becomes its own justification. Such confusion on this grave point, as on the others, signifies a nation lost" ("A Nation Lost," Boston Globe 4/22/03).

Assuming the nation is not beyond redemption, people of good will who opposed the American invasion of Iraq ought to consider turning their attention to the long-term consequences of militarization. Unless militarization is systematically exposed and resisted at every site where it appears in the culture there will be more young men and women who follow the path of Jesus Gonzalez. What should become of the antiwar movement now? Perhaps yet another march and demonstration will prove less productive than focusing our energy on devising strategies to slow down a process that threatens both the future of our children and the soul of the nation.

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Henry A. Giroux - Violence, USA: The Warfare State and the Brutalizing of Everyday Life

Since 9/11, the war on terror and the campaign for homeland security have increasingly mimicked the tactics of the enemies they sought to crush. Violence and punishment as both a media spectacle and a bone-crushing reality have become prominent and influential forces shaping American society. As the boundaries between "the realms of war and civil life have collapsed," social relations and the public services needed to make them viable have been increasingly privatized and

militarized.(1) The logic of profitability works its magic in channeling the public funding of warfare and organized violence into universities, market based service providers and deregulated contractors. The metaphysics of war and associated forms of violence now creep into every aspect of American society.

As the preferred "instrument of statecraft,"(2) war and its intensifying production of violence cross borders, time, space and places. Seemingly without any measure of self-restraint, state-sponsored violence flows and regroups, contaminating both foreign and domestic policies. One consequence of the permanent warfare state is evident in the public revelations concerning a number of war crimes committed recently by US government forces. These include the indiscriminate killings of Afghan civilians by US drone aircraft; the barbaric murder of Afghan children and peasant farmers by American infantrymen infamously labeled as "the kill team";(3) disclosures concerning four American Marines urinating on dead Taliban fighters; and the recent uncovering of photographs showing "more than a dozen soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division's Fourth Brigade Combat Team, along with some Afghan security forces, posing with the severed hands and legs of Taliban attackers in Zabul Province in 2010."(4) And, shocking even for those acquainted with standard military combat, there is the case of Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales, who "walked off a small combat outpost in Kandahar province and slaughtered 17 villagers, most of them women and children and later walked back to his base and turned himself in."(5) Mind-numbing violence, war crimes and indiscriminate military attacks on civilians on the part of the US government are far from new, of course, and date back to infamous acts such as the air attacks on civilians in Dresden along with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II.(6) Military spokespersons are typically quick to remind the American public that such practices are part of the price one pays for combat and are endemic to war itself.

The history of atrocities committed by the United States in the name of war need not be repeated here, but some of these incidents have doubled in on themselves and fueled public outrage against the violence of war. (7) One of the most famous was the My Lai massacre, which played a crucial role in mobilizing anti-war protests against the Vietnam War. Even dubious appeals to national defense and honor can provide no excuse for mass killings of civilians, rapes and other acts of destruction that completely lack any justifiable military objective. Not only does the alleged normative violence of war disguise the moral cowardice of the warmongers, it also demonizes the enemy and dehumanizes soldiers. It is this brutalizing psychology of desensitization, emotional hardness and the freezing of moral responsibility that is particularly crucial to understand, because it grows out of a formative culture in which war, violence and the dehumanization of others becomes routine, commonplace and removed from any sense of ethical accountability.

It is necessary to recognize that acts of extreme violence and cruelty do not represent merely an odd or marginal and private retreat into barbarism. On the contrary, warlike values and the social mindset they legitimate have become the primary currency of a market-driven culture, which takes as its model a Darwinian shark tank in which only the strong survive. At work in the new hyper-social Darwinism is a view of the other as the enemy; an all-too-quick willingness in the name of war to embrace the dehumanization of the other; and an only too-easy acceptance of violence, however extreme, as routine and normalized. As many theorists have observed, the production of extreme violence in its various incarnations is now a show and source of profit for

Hollywood moguls, mainstream news, popular culture and the entertainment industry and a major market for the defense industries.(8)

This pedagogy of brutalizing hardness and dehumanization is also produced and circulated in schools, boot camps, prisons, and a host of other sites that now trade in violence and punishment for commercial purposes, or for the purpose of containing populations that are viewed as synonymous with public disorder. The mall, juvenile detention facilities, many public housing projects, privately owned apartment buildings and gated communities all embody a model of failed sociality and have come to resemble proto-military spaces in which the culture of violence and punishment becomes the primary order of politics, fodder for entertainment and an organizing principle for society. Even public school reform is now justified in the dehumanizing language of national security, which increasingly legitimates the transformation of schools into adjuncts of the surveillance and police state. (9)

The privatization and militarization of schools mutually inform each other as students are increasingly subjected to disciplinary apparatuses which limit their capacity for critical thinking, mold them into consumers, test them into submission, strip them of any sense of social responsibility and convince large numbers of poor minority students that they are better off under the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system than by being valued members of thy public schools. All of these spaces and institutions, from malls to schools, are coming to resemble war zones. They produce and circulate forms of symbolic and real violence that dissolve the democratic bonds of social reciprocity just as they appeal incessantly to the market-driven egocentric interests of the autonomous individual, a fear of the other and a stripped-down version of security that narrowly focuses on personal safety rather than collective security nets and social welfare.

Under such a war-like regime of privatization, militarism and punishing violence, it is not surprising that the Hollywood film "The Hunger Games" has become a box office hit. The film and its success are symptomatic of a society in which violence has become the new lingua franca. It portrays a society in which the privileged classes alleviate their boredom through satiating their lust for violent entertainment and, in this case, a brutalizing violence waged against children. While a generous reading might portray the film as a critique of class-based consumption and violence given its portrayal of a dystopian future society so willing to sacrifice its children, I think, in the end, the film more accurately should be read as depicting the terminal point of what I have called elsewhere the suicidal society (a suicide pact literally ends the narrative). (10)

Given Hollywood's rush for ratings, the film gratuitously feeds enthralled audiences with voyeuristic images of children being killed for sport. In a very disturbing opening scene, the audience observes children killing each other within a visual framing that is as gratuitous as it is alarming. That such a film can be made for the purpose of attaining high ratings and big profits, while becoming overwhelming popular among young people and adults alike, says something profoundly disturbing about the cultural force of violence and the moral emptiness at work in American society. Of course, the meaning and relevance of "The Hunger Games" rest not simply with its production of violent imagery against children, but with the ways these images and the historical and contemporary meanings they carry are aligned and realigned with broader discourses, values and social relations. Within this network of alignments, risk and danger combine with myth and fantasy to stoke the seductions of sadomasochistic violence, echoing the

fundamental values of the fascist state in which aesthetics dissolves into pathology and a carnival of cruelty.

Within the contemporary neoliberal theater of cruelty, war has expanded its poisonous reach and moves effortlessly within and across America's national boundaries. As Chris Hedges has pointed out brilliantly and passionately, war "allows us to make sense of mayhem and death" as something not to be condemned, but to be celebrated as a matter of national honor, virtue and heroism. (11) War takes as its aim the killing of others and legitimates violence through an amorally bankrupt mindset in which just and unjust notions of violence collapse into each other. Consequently, it has become increasingly difficult to determine justifiable violence and humanitarian intervention from unjustifiable violence involving torture, massacres and atrocities, which now operate in the liminal space and moral vacuum of legal illegalities. Even when such acts are recognized as war crimes, they are often dismissed as simply an inevitable consequence of war itself. This view was recently echoed by Leon Panetta who, responding to the alleged killing of civilians by US Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales, observed, "War is hell. These kinds of events and incidents are going to take place, they've taken place in any war, they're terrible events and this is not the first of those events and probably will not be the last."(12) He then made clear the central contradiction that haunts the use of machineries of war in stating, "But we cannot allow these events to undermine our strategy."(13) Panetta's qualification is a testament to barbarism because it means being committed to a war machine that trades in indiscriminate violence, death and torture, while ignoring the pull of conscience or ethical considerations. Hedges is right when he argues that defending such violence in the name of war is a rationale for "usually nothing more than gross human cruelty, brutality and stupidity."(14)

War and the organized production of violence has also become a form of governance increasingly visible in the ongoing militarization of police departments throughout the United States. According to the Homeland Security Research Corp, "The homeland security market for state and local agencies is projected to reach $19.2 billion by 2014, up from $15.8 billion in fiscal 2009."(15) The structure of violence is also evident in the rise of the punishing and surveillance state, (16) with its legions of electronic spies and ballooning prison population - now more than 2.3 million. Evidence of state-sponsored warring violence can also be found in the domestic war against "terrorists" (code for young protesters), which provides new opportunities for major defense contractors and corporations to become "more a part of our domestic lives."(17) Young people, particularly poor minorities of color, have already become the targets of what David Theo Goldberg calls "extraordinary power in the name of securitization ... [they are viewed as] unruly populations ... [who] are to be subjected to necropolitical discipline through the threat of imprisonment or death, physical or social."(18) The rhetoric of war is now used by politicians not only to appeal to a solitary warrior mentality in which responsibility is individualized, but also to attack women's reproductive rights, limit the voting rights of minorities and justify the most ruthless cutting of social protections and benefits for public servants and the poor, unemployed and sick.

This politics and pedagogy of death begins in the celebration of war and ends in the unleashing of violence on all those considered disposable on the domestic front. A survival-of-the-fittest ethic and the utter annihilation of the other have now become normalized, saturating everything from state policy to institutional practices to the mainstream media. How else to explain the growing taste for violence in, for example, the world of professional sports, extending from professional

hockey to extreme martial arts events? The debased nature of violence and punishment seeping into the American cultural landscape becomes clear in the recent revelation that the New Orleans Saints professional football team was "running a 'bounty program' which rewarded players for inflicting injuries on opposing players."(19) In what amounts to a regime of terror pandering to the thrill of the crowd and a take-no-prisoners approach to winning, a coach offered players a cash bonus for "laying hits that resulted in other athletes being carted off the field or landing on the injured player list."(20)

The bodies of those considered competitors, let alone enemies, are now targeted as the war-as-politics paradigm turns America into a warfare state. And even as violence flows out beyond the boundaries of state-sponsored militarism and the containment of the sporting arena, citizens are increasingly enlisted to maximize their own participation and pleasure in violent acts as part of their everyday existence - even when fellow citizens become the casualties. Maximizing the pleasure of violence with its echo of fascist ideology far exceeds the boundaries of state-sponsored militarism and violence. Violence can no longer be defined as an exclusively state function since the market in its various economic and cultural manifestations now enacts its own violence on numerous populations no longer considered of value. Perhaps nothing signals the growing market-based savagery of the contemporary moment more than the privatized and corporate fueled gun culture of America.

Gun culture now rules American values, if not also many of US domestic policies. The National Rifle Association is the emerging symbol of what America has come to represent, perfectly captured in T-shirts worn by its followers that brazenly display the messages "I hate welfare" and "If any would not work neither should he eat."(21) The relationship Americans have to guns may be complicated, but the social costs are less nuanced and certainly more deadly. In a country with "90 guns for every 100 people," it comes as no surprise, as Gary Younge points out, that "more than 85 people a day are killed with guns and more than twice that number are injured with them."(22) The merchants of death trade in a formative and material culture of violence that causes massive suffering and despair while detaching themselves from any sense of moral responsibility. Social costs are rarely considered, in spite of the endless trail of murders committed by the use of such weapons and largely inflicted on poor minorities. Violence has become not only more deadly, but flexible, seeping into a range of institutions, cannibalizing democratic values and merging crime and terror. As Jean and John Comaroff point out, under such circumstances a social order emerges that "appears ever more impossible to apprehend, violence appears ever more endemic, excessive and transgressive and police come, in the public imagination, to embody a nervous state under pressure."(23) Public disorder becomes both a spectacle and an obsession and is reflected in advertising and other everyday venues - advertising can even "transform nightmare into desire.... [Yet] violence is never just a matter of the circulation of images. Its exercise, legitimate or otherwise, tends to have decidedly tangible objectives. And effects."(24)

An undeniable effect of the warmongering state is the drain on public coffers. The United States has the largest military budget in the world and "in 2010-2011 accounted for 40% of national spending."(25) The Eisenhower Study Group at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies estimates that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have cost the American taxpayers between $3.7 trillion and $4.4 trillion. What is more, funding such wars comes with an incalculable price in human lives and suffering. For example, the Eisenhower Study estimated that

there has been over 224,475 lives lost, 363,383 people wounded and seven million refugees and internally displaced people.(26) But war has another purpose, especially for neoconservatives who want to destroy the social state. By siphoning funds and public support away from much-needed social programs, war, to use David Rothkopf's phrase, "diminishes government so that it becomes too small to succeed."(27)

The warfare state hastens the dismantling of the social state and its limited safety net, creating the conditions for the ultra-rich, mega corporations and finance capital to appropriate massive amounts of wealth, income and power. This has resulted in, as of 2012, the largest ever increase in inequality of income and wealth in the United States.(28) Structural inequalities do more than distribute wealth and power upward to the privileged few. They also generate forms of collective violence accentuated by high levels of uncertainty and anxiety, all of which, as Michelle Brown points out, "makes recourse to punishment and exclusion highly seductive possibilities."(29) The merging of the punishing and financial state is partly legitimated through the normalization of risk, insecurity and fear in which individuals not only have no way of knowing their fate, but also have to bear individually the consequences of being left adrift by neoliberal capitalism.

In American society, the seductive power of the spectacle of violence is fed through a framework of fear, blame and humiliation that circulates widely in popular culture. The consequence is a culture marked by increasing levels of inequality, suffering and disposability. There is not only a "surplus of rage," but also a collapse of civility in which untold forms of violence, humiliation and degradation proliferate. Hyper-masculinity and the spectacle of a militarized culture now dominate American society - one in which civility collapses into rudeness, shouting and unchecked anger. What is unique at this historical conjuncture in the United States is that such public expression of hatred, violence and rage "no longer requires concealment but is comfortable in its forthrightness."(30) How else to explain the support by the majority of Americans for state sanctioned torture, the public indifference to the mass incarceration of poor people of color, or the public silence in the face of police violence in public schools against children, even those in elementary schools? As war becomes the organizing principle of society, the ensuing effects of an intensifying culture of violence on a democratic civic culture are often deadly and invite anti-democratic tendencies that pave the way for authoritarianism.

In addition, as the state is hijacked by the financial-military-industrial complex, the "most crucial decisions regarding national policy are not made by representatives, but by the financial and military elites."(31) Such massive inequality and the suffering and political corruption it produces point to the need for critical analysis in which the separation of power and politics can be understood. This means developing terms that clarify how power becomes global even as politics continues to function largely at the national level, with the effect of reducing the state primarily to custodial, policing and punishing functions - at least for those populations considered disposable.

The state exercises its slavish role in the form of lowering taxes for the rich, deregulating corporations, funding wars for the benefit of the defense industries and devising other welfare services for the ultra-rich. There is no escaping the global politics of finance capital and the global network of violence that it has created. Resistance must be mobilized globally and politics restored to a level where it can make a difference in fulfilling the promises of a global democracy. But such a challenge can only take place if the political is made more pedagogical and matters of education

take center stage in the struggle for desires, subjectivities and social relations that refuse the normalizing of violence as a source of gratification, entertainment, identity and honor.

War in its expanded incarnation works in tandem with a state organized around the production of widespread violence. Such a state is necessarily divorced from public values and the formative cultures that make a democracy possible. The result is a weakened civic culture that allows violence and punishment to circulate as part of a culture of commodification, entertainment and distraction. In opposing the emergence of the United States as both a warfare and a punishing state, I am not appealing to a form of left moralism meant simply to mobilize outrage and condemnation. These are not unimportant registers, but they do not constitute an adequate form of resistance.

What is needed are modes of analysis that do the hard work of uncovering the effects of the merging of institutions of capital, wealth and power and how this merger has extended the reach of a military-industrial-carceral and academic complex, especially since the 1980s. This complex of ideological and institutional elements designed for the production of violence must be addressed by making visible its vast national and global interests and militarized networks, as indicated by the fact that the United States has over a 1,000 military bases abroad. Equally important is the need to highlight how this military-industrial-carceral and academic complex uses punishment as a structuring force to shape national policy and everyday life.

Challenging the warfare state also has an important educational component. C. Wright Mills was right in arguing that it is impossible to separate the violence of an authoritarian social order from the cultural apparatuses that nourish it. As Mills put it, the major cultural apparatuses not only "guide experience, they also expropriate the very chance to have an experience rightly called 'our own.'"(32) This narrowing of experience shorn of public values locks people into private interests and the hyper-individualized orbits in which they live. Experience itself is now privatized, instrumentalized, commodified and increasingly militarized. Social responsibility gives way to organized infantilization and a flight from responsibility.

Crucial here is the need to develop new cultural and political vocabularies that can foster an engaged mode of citizenship capable of naming the corporate and academic interests that support the warfare state and its apparatuses of violence, while simultaneously mobilizing social movements in order to challenge and dismantle its vast networks of power. One central pedagogical and political task in dismantling the warfare state is, therefore, the challenge of creating the cultural conditions and public spheres that would enable the American public to move from being spectators of war and everyday violence to being informed and engaged citizens.

Unfortunately, major cultural apparatuses such as public and higher education, which have been historically responsible for educating the public, are becoming little more than market-driven and militarized knowledge factories. In this particularly insidious role, educational institutions deprive students of the capacities that would enable them to not only assume public responsibilities, but also actively participate in the process of governing. Without the public spheres for creating a formative culture equipped to challenge the educational, military, market and religious fundamentalisms that dominate American society, it will be virtually impossible to resist the normalization of war as a matter of domestic and foreign policy.

Any viable notion of resistance to the current authoritarian order must also address the issue of what it means pedagogically to imagine a more democratic-oriented notion of knowledge, subjectivity and agency and what might it mean to bring such notions into the public sphere. This is more than what Bernard Harcourt calls "a new grammar of political disobedience."(33) It is a reconfiguring of the nature and substance of the political so that matters of pedagogy become central to the very definition of what constitutes the political and the practices that make it meaningful. Critical understanding motivates transformative action and the affective investments it demands can only be brought about by breaking into the hard-wired forms of common sense that give war and state supported violence their legitimacy. War does not have to be a permanent social relation, nor the primary organizing principle of everyday life, society and foreign policy.

The war of all against all and the social Darwinian imperative to respond positively only to one's own self-interests represent the death of politics, civic responsibility and ethics and the victory of a "failed sociality." The existing neoliberal social order produces individuals who have no commitments, except to profit, disdain social responsibility and loosen all ties to any viable notion of the public good. This regime of punishment and privatization is organized around the structuring forces of violence and militarization, which produce a surplus of fear, insecurity and a weakened culture of civic engagement - one in which there is little room for reasoned debate, critical dialogue and informed intellectual exchange.

America understood as a warfare state prompts a new urgency for a collective politics and a social movement capable of negating the current regimes of political and economic power, while imagining a different and more democratic social order. Until the ideological and structural foundations of violence that are pushing American society over the abyss are addressed, the current warfare state will be transformed into a full-blown authoritarian state that will shut down any vestige of democratic values, social relations and public spheres. At the very least, the American public owes it to its children and future generations, if not the future of democracy itself, to make visible and dismantle this machinery of violence while also reclaiming the spirit of a future that works for life rather than the death worlds of the current authoritarianism, however dressed up they appear in the spectacles of consumerism and celebrity culture. It is time for educators, unions, young people, liberals, religious organizations, and other groups to connect the dots, educate themselves and develop powerful social movements that can restructure the fundamental values and social relations of democracy, while putting into place the institutions and formative cultures that make it possible. Stanley Aronowitz is right in arguing that:

The system survives on the eclipse of the radical imagination, the absence of a viable political opposition with roots in the general population and the conformity of its intellectuals who, to a large extent, are subjugated by their secure berths in the academy [and while] we can take some solace in 2011, the year of the protester ... it would be premature to predict that decades of retreat, defeat and silence can be reversed overnight without a commitment to what may be termed a "a long march" though the institutions, the workplaces and the streets of the capitalist metropoles.[34]

The current protests among young people, workers, the unemployed, students, and others are making clear that this is not - indeed, cannot be - only a short-term project for reform, but must constitute a political and social movement of sustained growth, accompanied by the reclaiming of

public spaces, the progressive use of digital technologies, the development of democratic public spheres, new modes of education and the safeguarding of places where democratic expression, new identities and collective hope can be nurtured and mobilized. Without broad political and social movements standing behind and uniting the call on the part of young people for democratic transformations, any attempt at radical change will more than likely be cosmetic.

Any viable challenge to the new authoritarianism and its theater of cruelty and violence must include developing a variety of cultural discourses and sites where new modes of agency can be imagined and enacted, particularly as they work to reconfigure a new collective subject, modes of sociality and "alternative conceptualizations of the self and its relationship to others."(35) Clearly, if the United States is to make a claim on democracy, it must develop a politics that views violence as a moral monstrosity and war as virulent pathology. How such a claim to politics unfolds remains to be seen. In the meantime, resistance proceeds, especially among the young people who now carry the banner of struggle against the encroachment of an authoritarianism that is working hard to snuff out all vestiges of democratic life.

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Source: http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/8859-violence-usa-the-warfare-state-and-thebrutalizing-of-everyday-life

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Health Concerns

Amy Hagopian & Kathy Barker - Cessation of Military Recruiting in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

Abstract

Recruiters for the various US armed forces have free access to our nation's public high schools, as mandated by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). Military recruiting behavior in the nation's high schools has become increasingly aggressive and predatory. Although adults in the active military service are reported to experience increased mental health risks, including stress, substance abuse, and suicide, there is evidence that military service for the youngest soldiers is consistently associated with health effects far worse than for those who are older. This suggests that military service is associated with disproportionately poor health for those in late adolescence. These negative outcomes for teen soldiers, coupled with significant evidence that the adolescent brain is not equipped to make accurate risk calculations, leads APHA to conclude entry into the military should be delayed until full adulthood. For these reasons, the American Public Health Association opposes military recruiting in public elementary and secondary schools. APHA should encourage the United States to cease the practice of recruiting military enlistees in public high schools, specifically by (1) removing the No Child Left Behind Act requirement that high schools both be open to military recruiters and turn over contact information on all students to recruiters and (2) eliminating practices that encourage military recruiters to approach adolescents in US public high schools to enlist in the military services.

Problem Statement

Across the United States, recruiters from all branches of the military regularly enter every public high school to approach adolescents aged 14 through 18 years to persuade them to enlist in military service branches. Underage students are recruited into what is called the "Future Soldier Program," which encourages them to attend boot camp during the summer between their junior and senior years. (The laws governing military recruiters in high schools are Section 544 of the National Defense Authorization Act [Public Law No. 107-107] and Section 9528 of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 [Public Law No. 107110].)

Public health issues for young recruits: There are public health reasons to be concerned about military recruitment in public elementary and secondary schools. Adolescent recruitment targets are at a vulnerable stage of brain development and may experience adverse health consequences from stress. Given their limitations in judging risk at this stage in life, they are also unable to fully evaluate the consequences of making a choice to enter the military.[1]

The bulk of newly enlisted military personnel are developmentally in late adolescence, a time of relatively robust physical health but not necessarily complete brain development or a wise time to introduce high levels of stress.[2] According to one pediatric researcher,

“Joining the military service entails absolute obedience, uniform appearance, disengagement from the family, and a potential threat for physical injury and mental stress, as well as requirement for responsibility beyond the personal needs of the individual.”*3+

Much has been written about adolescent brain development to explain why adolescents make decisions differently than do adults. One recent review in the journal Nature explains: “Even before you add raging hormones and peer-group-driven rebelliousnesswithout-a-cause to the mixture, adolescents may simply be unable consistently to make decisions the same way adults do. This could well be one of the reasons that, although most people are healthier during their adolescence than at any other time in their lives, adolescents are three or four times more likely to die than children past infancy: they take risks, have accidents and pay the prices.”*4+

A plethora of studies demonstrate that adolescent development is insufficient to support wise choices that have lifelong implications.[5–13+ Young people‘s underdeveloped brains and compromised decision-making abilities underlie many laws and public policy decisions.[14] As a result of drunken teens dying in crashes and killing innocent motorists, in 1984 Congress raised the minimum age for the purchase and possession of alcoholic beverages to 21 years.[14,15] Auto insurance companies certainly understand this concept and age-adjust their rates accordingly.

Although adults in the active military service are reported to experience increased mental health risks, including stress, substance abuse, and suicide,[16,17] the youngest soldiers consistently show the worst health effects, suggesting that military service is associated with disproportionately poor health for this population.[18] A study of mental disorders in the US military showed the highest rates of all disorders, including alcohol abuse, anxiety syndromes, depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder, among the youngest cohort, those aged 17 through 24 years.[19] Another study revealed that younger soldiers had 30%–60% more substance abuse disorders, and younger women in particular had the highest incidence of attempted suicide or self-inflicted injuries.[20] It was also recently reported that the youngest group of veterans experienced a 26% increase in suicides from 2005 to 2007.[21] A review of hospitalizations among military personnel in the 1990s showed the highest rates among the youngest recruits.[22] We also know that the youngest active-duty military engage in the riskiest sexual behaviors and that women younger than 21 years account for almost one third of first births among female active duty personnel.[18]

There is a well-established relationship among employment, income, and health. US Bureau of Labor Statistics employment data indicate that while the job market is slowly improving for most Americans, it is worsening for Gulf War II veterans (those on active duty since 2001). The youngest

of veterans, those aged 18 to 24 years, had a 30.4% jobless rate in October 2011, up from 18.4% a year earlier. By contrast, the rate among nonveterans of the same age improved, to 15.3% from 16.9%. Among Black veterans aged 18–24 years, the unemployment rate is a striking 48%.[23]

There is a growing literature on "military sexual trauma" (MST). MST is described by the Veterans Administration (VA) as "psychological trauma, which in the judgment of a VA mental health professional, resulted from a physical assault of a sexual nature, battery of a sexual nature, or sexual harassment which occurred while the [veteran] was serving on active duty or *in+ training." The VA reports that 1 in 5 women and 1 in 100 men seen in Veterans Health Administration facilities screen positive for MST.[24] A national study of women veterans who reported being raped while on active duty showed that they were more likely to enter the military at a younger age than those who reported no similar assault,[25,26] which provides additional evidence for the value of postponing entry into the military until individuals are better able to resist this type of assault. There was also an investigation, conducted by the Associated Press, into the sexual abuse of more than 100 potential enlistees on the part of military recruiters.[27] The pattern that emerged was that victims were typically between 16 and 18 years old, and they usually met the recruiters at their high schools.

Military recruiters engage in aggressive behaviors to gain the trust of youth that are inappropriate, according to psychologists. For example, recruiting behaviors observed in schools can be characterized as "the process by which a child is befriended…in an attempt to gain the child's confidence and trust, enabling *the recruiter+ to get the child to acquiesce."*28+ Another definition notes the importance of being "exceptionally charming and/or helpful" while "failing to honor clear boundaries."*29+ Some examples follow.

The US Army's school recruiting program (SRP) handbook offers wide-ranging advice to its personnel seeking to enlist high school students. It declares that "*recruiters—like infantrymen—must move, shoot, and communicate" (US Army Recruiting Command [USAREC] Pamphlet 3-01). Another recruiting handbook states the goal more clearly: "The objective of the SRP is to assist recruiters with programs and services so they can effectively penetrate the school market" (USAREC Pamphlet 350-13). Advice includes various ways for recruiters to insinuate themselves into the school community to gain access to adolescents:

- Be so helpful and so much a part of the school scene that you are in constant demand.
- Attend athletic events at the high school.
- Deliver donuts and coffee for the faculty once a month.
- Offer to be a timekeeper at football games.
- Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday is in January. Wear your dress blues and participate in school events commemorating this holiday.

Recruiters are reported to chaperone dances, tutor kids, coach football teams, and ride buses to and from school, all in an effort to get near kids. They also "volunteer" to teach gym classes, sponsor climbing walls, bring large armored vehicles to campuses to create a sensation, and infuse counseling offices with the ASVAB—the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery test—to assist

young people in making career choices (with scores forwarded to recruiters).[30] Nothing in the manual advises recruiters to reveal the risks their prospects face, neither the physical hazards on the battlefield nor the psychological trauma and its aftereffects. Even when recruiters target adolescents 17 years or older for recruiting activities, the mere presence of recruiters in the schools exposes younger children to aggressive recruiting practices.

These soliciting behaviors (called “prospecting” in the recruiting handbook) are varyingly successful. During the height of the Iraq War, recruitment goals were modestly low; even so, the goals were not met for many months. The recent collapse of the US economy, however, has made the military a more attractive option for lower-income prospects.[17]

Military targeting of low-income youth and students of color: The American Civil Liberties Union has reported that military recruiters disproportionately target low-income youth and students of color.[31] Voluntary military enlistment during wartime is also associated with lower college aspirations, lower socioeconomic status, and living in an area with a high military presence.[32] The greatest likelihood of military service versus college or the labor force occurs when young men of modest ability come from disadvantaged circumstances, experience minimal connectedness to others, and report a history of adolescent fighting.[33] Nearly three quarters of those killed in Iraq came from towns where the per capita income was below the national average.[34]

Military recruiting budgets are estimated at between $1 billion and $20 billion per year, depending on the source.[35–37] This level of expenditure purchases a great deal of market penetration, with a strong ability to target specific audiences. The US military commissioned a report by the Rand Corporation on how to target recruits by race, ethnicity, and income.[38] The report clearly lays out the incentives that will appeal most to each ethnic group.[38] The army is reportedly purchasing a sophisticated market segmentation system that targets youngsters by income status.[39] The army contracts with 4 different advertising firms to create recruiting ads that target different ethnic groups, using cultural indicators to customize the ads.[40] Army recruitment ads exploit the fact that young people of color do not have the same opportunities as children from middle-class and wealthy families.[41]

Military recruiters acknowledge that “if joining the military is not considered by age 17, it likely will not be in later years” either.*42+ Therefore, as is the case with tobacco marketing, military marketing is quite aggressively targeted at younger prospects. The Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) enrolls 286,000 youngsters in 1,645 schools, mostly in the southeastern US states, at ages as low as 13 years.[43]

The Blue Angels is described as another recruiting tool specifically aimed at the very young and vulnerable prospective recruit.[44] The Blue Angels will not perform in a city unless its recruiters gain access to high school students and their “influencers.”*45+

Student privacy protections: The No Child Left Behind Act, Section 9528, requires public schools to give military recruiters access to students at school and access to students’ contact information. It does, however, allow students and their families to opt out of this wholesale release of private information to the military. The privacy of underage students is also ensured under the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (see full language at http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg112.html). However, many school districts do not

inform families of their NCLB privacy rights, subjecting some students to aggressive military recruiting at home as well as at school.[30]

Despite these legal privacy protections, the army's manual instructs high school recruiters to intentionally circumvent the law: "Lead generation is what makes prospecting possible. Asking a school official for a student directory is one example of lead generation. Be creative if the school doesn't release a list. Consider, for example, contacting the company that produces senior photos. If necessary, have your Future Soldiers review your school's yearbook(s). Have them identify their friends and acquaintances with a phone number, an e-mail address, or any other information they can provide. Use the phone book to identify phone numbers. Think! This kind of information gathering can establish contact with an otherwise hard to find lead. Establishing strong relationships with COIs [centers of influence]—such as yearbook photographers, school officials, and Future Soldiers— ensures you have a constant, reliable source of leads" (USAREC Pamphlet 3-01).

There are other ways in which schools help military recruiters violate student and family privacy rights. Approximately 12,000 high schools offer the 3-hour ASVAB as an aptitude test and recruiting tool.[46] Test results allow the military to obtain sensitive, personal information on more than 660,000 high school students annually, the vast majority of whom are younger than 18 years.[47] In some schools, taking the ASVAB is mandatory, however, and few parents or students are informed that the ASVAB is the Department of Defense placement test used for enlistees in the military[48] and that students' home contact information will be sent with the results to military recruiters unless the school chooses "Option 8."

Student home contact information is also collected through the Joint Advertising Market Research & Studies (JAMRS) database, a joint recruiting project of the Department of Defense and several marketing firms.[49] The database contains information on 30 million Americans between the ages of 16 and 25 years and is bought from agencies such as the College Board (which administers SAT tests), the Department of Motor Vehicles, the Selective Service System, and ASVAB. While students and families cannot opt out of the JAMRS database, many do not know they can suppress the use of their information with a written request.

Marketing campaigns emphasize practical skills, patriotism, and tales of adventure that appeal to teenagers and fail to discuss the actual risks of war. These appeals are based on the extensive research into the psychological and behavioral factors that influence teenagers to enlist in the military.[50]

Convention on the Rights of the Child: Since its adoption in 1989, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child has been ratified more quickly and by more governments than any other human rights instrument.[51] Only 2 UN members have yet to ratify: Somalia and the United States of America. Opponents of ratification object to giving away US sovereignty to the UN and also claim that the treaty undermines parental rights.[51]

An "optional protocol" to the convention, which the United States has in fact signed, promises that "*p+ersons who have not attained the age of 18 years are not compulsorily recruited into *the+ armed forces" and ensures safeguards for adolescents subjected to voluntary recruitment.

Nonetheless, high school–based recruiting necessarily targets children as young as 13 years. According to the American Civil Liberties Union:

"The Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (Optional Protocol) is meant to safeguard the rights of children under 18 from military recruitment and deployment to war, and to guarantee basic protections to former child soldiers, whether they are seeking refugee protection in the United States or are in U.S. custody for alleged crimes. The U.S. Senate ratified the Optional Protocol in December 2002. By signing and ratifying the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the U.S. bound itself to comply with the obligations contained in the Optional Protocol. The Optional Protocol provides that the absolute minimum age for voluntary recruitment is 16 years old. It also instructs countries to set their own minimum age by submitting a binding declaration, and the United States entered a binding declaration raising this minimum age to 17. Therefore, recruitment of youth ages 16 and under is categorically disallowed in the United States."*31+

Analogies to sports recruiting: The military evades the type of safeguards that the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has established to control the presence of sports recruiters in schools. The NCAA limits the number of phone calls that can be made by sports recruiters, the time of year they can be made, times of off-campus contact, and high school campus and game visits. Despite the number of violations of its policies that are regularly reported, the NCAA does attempt to protect student athletes and penalizes college recruiters for violations of policy. By contrast, there is no analogous organization that even attempts to protect the rights of young prospective recruits into the military; indeed, the mandating of access to adolescents by military recruiters' sidelines the roles of schools as protectors of adolescents in their transactions with these recruiters.

While football coaches are prohibited from influencing students with elaborate theatrics, military recruiters often appear at schools in Blackhawk helicopters.[52] Also in contrast to military recruiting, the NCAA requires honesty in portraying the actual likelihood of prospects for young athletes. The NCAA keeps students informed of the estimated probability of competing in athletics beyond high school, for example.[53] In another divergence from sports recruiting, the military is not required to abide by any written or verbal commitments it makes to enlistees, while at the same time young recruits have no way out of the contracts they sign.[54] In sports recruiting, the National Letter of Intent and financial aid agreement are binding on both parties.[55]

Conclusion: Military service is associated with hazards to mental and physical health for the very youngest recruits. Despite this, current US law mandates that public schools open their doors to military recruiters. Public health programs worldwide rely on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to ensure the protection of children. Public health advocates who focus on children in the United States should monitor and, where necessary, rein in the behaviors of military recruiters in our schools as a matter of protecting child health and welfare and as a step toward bringing the United States into the family of nations that have ratified the treaty. Congress should remove the NCLB mandate that public high schools admit military recruiters. Military recruiters have sufficient access to adult recruits through community recruiting stations without accessing adolescents in the public schools.

The “precautionary principle” specifies that if a policy is suspected of causing harm, in the absence of a scientific consensus the burden of proof falls on those making the policy.[56] Given the growing evidence that school-based military recruitment of adolescents is harmful, the principle would require limiting the practice until or unless evidence to the contrary is established.

Proposed Recommendations Statement

To reduce the exposure of adolescents in public schools to military recruitment, we must eliminate the laws that protect and promote the behavior. In cases where military service provides side benefits, such as access to higher education and discipline, these positive effects can be more directly and efficiently provided without the hazards of service.

Opposing Arguments

The military strives to offer many opportunities for young people, especially those from low-income backgrounds who might not otherwise find opportunities to pay for college or find discipline in their lives. Many believe the benefits of military service outweigh the higher risks of death, disability, addiction, homelessness, and unemployment that plague America’s military veterans.[57–61] Since there has been no randomized controlled trial (or really any scientific assessment at all) of the effects of military service as compared with alternative service for young people, we have no control group by which to make definitive judgments. Indeed, in a recent New York Times article, Col. Jeffrey A. Bailey, the surgeon who directs the Joint Trauma System at the Institute of Surgical Research at Fort Sam Houston, was quoted: “There as yet is no standardized medical database that enables researchers to look back comprehensively on the experiences of Afghanistan and Iraq.”*62+ Dr. Edmond Lounsbury, retired colonel and author of the textbook War Surgery in Afghanistan and Iraq, suggested the reason these data are restricted is a misguided “desire to present an airbrushed picture of war for public consumption.”*62+

The evidence available, however, demonstrates that military service is associated with worse health outcomes for the youngest recruits and therefore supports the removal of military recruiting from our nation’s high schools, where the youngest and most vulnerable recruits are found. Although there are certainly public health benefits to gaining access to college (one of the benefits the military purports to offer to recruits), there are more direct avenues to a college education, and at a lower overall cost to society and the individual.

The military argues that access to youngsters in their high schools provides necessary efficiencies in the recruitment process, as the target population is assembled and readily accessed. However, the presence of recruiters in schools implies the sanction of this career choice on the part of the school and the community, regardless of the health consequences. Recruiters are quite adept at finding other more neutral locations where potential recruits, preferably older ones, can be accessed.

Furthermore, opponents might assert that the rights of the federal government take precedence over the rights of schools, families, communities, or individuals. Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States gives the federal government the right to raise and support armies, and to do so in an era without a fair draft of all eligible members of the population requires access to young

people in the places where they congregate. We argue, however, that since attendance in school is compulsory, parents have no way to protect children in those settings from recruiters.

Alternative Strategies

- The national Parent Teacher Association (PTA) adopted a position in 2007 to support HR 551, the Student Privacy Protection Act, which would require an active "opt-in" requirement for parents and students before contact information is sent to military recruiters.

- California's Humboldt County voted to prohibit the military recruitment of children younger than 18 years in the cities of Eureka and Arcata on November 4, 2004, with the support of 56% and 73%, respectively, of the voters for a youth protection act.[63] A federal judge subsequently struck down the measure,[64] a decision both cities unsuccessfully appealed.[65]

- In Seattle, the school board adopted strict restrictions on military recruiting in public schools,[30] and the Oakland Unified School District similarly took strong action to rein in military recruiting on its campuses.[66] Other districts are regulating some facets of recruiter access in schools or student privacy protections as well.[67]

- Maryland passed legislation in 2010 barring high schools from automatically forwarding students' test scores on the ASVAB (the test developed and used by the US military to identify potential recruits that is given—and required—in many schools) to military recruiters. Many schools had been sending test results and detailed information about students directly to recruiters without student or parental permission.[68]

- Hawaii's Department of Education decided in 2009 that public schools could not release student ASVAB test scores and contact information to the military; students must go to a recruiting station off campus and request that their information be sent to the military.[69]

- The Oakland Unified School District requires schools (as of 2010) to offer students the chance to suppress their information from use by the Department of Defense's JAMRS database. [70]

- The New Hampshire commissioner of education voted in May 2012 to advise all state public high schools to restrict the release to military recruiters of student information obtained as a result of administering the ASVAB test.[71]

Action Steps

The US Government Accountability Office (GAO) should:

- Conduct a follow-up to its 2006 investigation into the behaviors, practices, and policies associated with US Armed Forces recruiting in our nation's public elementary and secondary schools.[72] At that time, GAO found "that between fiscal years 2004 and 2005, allegations and service-identified incidents of recruiter wrongdoing increased, collectively, from 4,400 cases to 6,600 cases; substantiated cases increased from just over 400 to almost 630 cases; and criminal violations more than doubled from just over 30 to almost 70 cases."

- Conduct an analysis of the military's college education benefit packages and the frequency of utilization as promised to recruits. These costs should be compared with other strategies for

expanding access to college among low-income youth, to provide full disclosure to all young people considering entering the military for purposes of gaining access to this benefit.

The US Department of Education should:

- Advise parents how to "opt out" of having contact information referred to recruiters and create guidelines for recruiting in schools.
- Advise parents and the schools that offer the ASVAB career test that they can withhold student names from being turned over to military recruiters.
- Advise parents they can suppress their names on the Department of Defense JAMRS database, through which military recruiters are sent student names acquired through SAT applications and other sources.
- Provide guidance to school districts on how to protect adolescents from unwarranted attention by aggressive recruiters, along with informing school districts of US Armed Forces recruiting practices in public elementary and secondary schools.
- Develop resources for adolescents to critically assess marketing messages directed at them.
- Encourage school districts to present a range of alternatives to military enlistment for post–high school life, including Vista, AmeriCorps, and other paths that engage young people in public service and provide access to higher education.

The U.S. Department of Defense should:

- Restrict its recruiters from entering public schools to recruit students and from obtaining names and addresses of students from public elementary and secondary schools.
- Revise recruiting manuals to refrain from predatory recruiting practices and to require that recruiters fully disclose the provisions of enlistment contracts and the full risks of military enlistment, including the likelihood of being sent to war.

The US Congress should:

- Repeal the provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act that mandate that public schools collaborate with military recruiters by providing full access to school buildings and student contact information.
- Reiterate its commitment to abide by the optional protocol of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child by restricting recruiter access to adolescents in their schools and ensuring safeguards for adolescents subjected to voluntary recruitment.

Source: http://www.apha.org/advocacy/policy/policysearch/default.htm?id=1445

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Related APHA Policy Statements
APHA Policy Statement 200027 – Encourage Healthy Behavior by Adolescents
APHA Policy Statement 20019 – Protection of Child and Adolescent Workers
APHA Policy Statement 200118 – Support for Curricula in Firearm Related Violence Prevention
APHA Policy Statement 200914 – Building Public Health Infrastructure for Youth Violence Prevention
APHA Policy Statement 201013 – American Public Health Association Child Health Policy for the United States
APHA Policy Statement 2002-11 – Opposing War in Central Asia and the Persian Gulf
APHA Policy Statement 200324 – Opposition to United States Plans for New Nuclear Weapons Development and Pre-emptive War
APHA Policy Statement 2005-1 – Condemning the Cooperation of Health Professional Personnel in Physical and Mental Abuse and Torture of Military Prisoners and Detainees
APHA Policy Statement 200617 – Opposition to the Continuation of the War in Iraq
APHA Policy Statement 200718 – Opposition to US Attack on Iran
APHA Policy Statement 20075 – Agent Orange
APHA Policy Statement 20094 – Ensuring the Achievement of the Millennium Development Goals: Strengthening US Efforts to Reduce Global Poverty and Promote Public Health
APHA Policy Statement 20095 – The Role of Public Health Practitioners, Academics, and Advocates in Relation to Armed Conflict and War
APHA Policy Statement 6901 – Chemical and Biological Methods of Warfare
APHA Policy Statement 7319 – Lives and Safety of Public Health Colleagues in Chile
APHA Policy Statement 7412 – Chemical and Biological Methods of Warfare
APHA Policy Statement 7913 – World Peace and the Military Budget
APHA Policy Statement 8531 – The Health Effects of Militarism
APHA Policy Statement 9205 – Reducing and Monitoring the Use of Toxic Materials in Production by the Departments of Defense
APHA Policy Statement 9804 – Cessation of Continued Development of Nuclear Weapons
APHA Policy Statement 9923 – Opposing War in the Middle East

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Pat Elder - M-1's and CMP and Lead

January 03, 2012

I'm following up from the NNOMY Steering Committee call last week. We all agreed to come up with ideas for a campaign for the upcoming year. I started researching marksmanship programs associated with JROTC programs in the schools and came up with a heck of a story about the Obama administration allowing a huge shipment of surplus Army guns

from Korea. That led to the eye raising finances of a non-profit set up by Congress to peddle these guns to kids, which brought me to the poisonous nature of these firing ranges. Be thinking in terms of ways to marshal the energy of a few dozen people reading this.

According to the conservative Human Events magazine, the U.S. State Department announced Dec. 2 that it will re-consider its stance against allowing World War II M-1 Garand rifles into the United States from South Korea. "The Department will consider a new request from the Republic of Korea (ROK) to transfer its inventory of approximately 87,000 M-1 Garand rifles into the United States for sale on the commercial market," a spokesperson at the U. S. Department of State told the magazine on Dec. 2.

http://www.humanevents.com/article.php?id=47906

I haven't been able to confirm this anywhere on line.

The Obama administration initially approved the sale of the American-made rifles in 2009, but it reversed course and banned the sale in March 2010. Now, it is apparently reversing course again, if Human Events can be believed. South Korea also holds 770,160 M1 Carbines in storage. (We apparently thought we could get more Koreans to shoot Chinese.) Anyway, the M-1 Garands are likely to be made available to the public through the Civilian Marksmanship Program.

The M-1 Garand

According to the Connecticut Post (April 10, 2000) Between 1996 and 1998, the U.S. Army turned over more than 56,000 rifles - mostly World War II-era M-1 Garands - to the Civilian Marksmanship Program (CMP).

Federal law authorizes CMP to sell surplus .30 and .22 caliber military rifles, parts, and ammunition. The CMP sells the government-surplus M1 Garands, M1 Carbines, .22 caliber target rifles, and small quantities of other rifles to the public. More research needs to be completed to track CMP's record since 1998. Buy your rifle here: http://thecmp.org/cmp_sales/

More on CMP

The CMP also assists with the management of firing ranges in public high schools and puts weapons into the hands of thousands of American youth. It was initially established by Congress in 1903. The CMP Mission is to "promote firearm safety and marksmanship training with an emphasis on youth." Their vision is to involve every American child in marksmanship programs. There are 4,806 clubs, high schools, teams and other shooting sports organizations currently affiliated with the CMP.

The program started in 1903 as a way to encourage individuals to develop marksmanship skill to prepare them in the event they were called to serve during wartime. In 1996 Congress established a non-profit entity, The Corporation for the Promotion of Rifle

Practice and Firearms Safety, Inc. to carry on the work of the Civilian Marksmanship Program, although the organization is commonly known as the CMP

The Corporation for the Promotion of Rifle Practice and Firearms Safety, Inc has total assets of $150 Million and annual revenue topping $29M in 2009. Their 990 for 2009 shows $124 M owned in publicly traded securities. They received $20.8 M in government grants last year.

Their chair, vice chair, and COO each make $300,000 a year and they pay their Board of Directors members $13,000-15,000 yearly. They report $9.9 M in sales less $8M in costs of goods sold, although the goods are from government surplus. (FOIA, anyone?) They claim $597,000 in bank and credit card fees and $259,000 in miscellaneous expenses.

Their 990 says -- at no cost to the government -- they "develop curriculum for marksmanship instruction in the high schools, train and certify JROTC coaches and inspect high school range facilities." It's curious because CMP only spent $513,056 on these important items, especially the inspection of the ranges. If there are 4,806 clubs affiliated with CMP and they only spent $513,056 on curriculum, training and inspections, the cost for all three per facility is a meager $106.

The Lead Issue

Many high schools have shifted from using .22's to pellet guns. Pellet guns and .22's use lead bullets that spew lead particulates, but CMP downplays the health risks associated with its facilities in its publication, "Guide for Lead Management for Air Gun Shooting." http://www.odcmp.com/comm/publications/PDFs/LeadMgtGuide.pdf

The publication asserts, "Target shooting with air rifles and small-bore rifles does not create real health risks for shooting sports participants." There is substantial scientific evidence to refute this.

The CMP also claims, "When air gun range cleaning is performed according to prescribed range management guidelines, lead residues from air gun firing can be effectively removed from the range floor. This is probably a correct assertion, but can we safely assume guidelines are being adhered to at all 4,806 CMP clubs?

In air rife shooting, projectiles made of lead are placed in the breech end of the rifle barrel and are propelled towards the target by bursts of compressed gas. Lead management issues arise from handling pellets, the passage of pellets through the barrel and the fragmentation of pellets that occurs when pellets strike backstops. All of this may occur in the school gym after school hours.

Direction for a new campaign

There have been numerous studies and press reports documenting health risks associated with firing ranges, but little activism to exploit the issue. We need to come together to brainstorm on ways to do this. Following are some snippets from the press.

The Sheboygan Rifle & Pistol Club, an organization affiliated with the CMP recently moved its shooting range out of a Wisconsin middle school after parents raised concerns about exposing students to lead. The club had an October, 2011 deadline to either upgrade the range's ventilation system or move out. Parents raised concerns about how the children were being protected from the range's lead residue. http://www.nbc26.com/news/local/130574288.html

In 2002, Youth shooting programs at the Tanana Valley (AK) Sportsmen's Association, an organization affiliated with the CMP, shooting range have been halted after 10 members of the Lathrop High School rifle team were found to have high concentrations of lead in their blood.

http://www.shootersforum.com/general-discussion/4292-indoor-shooting-ranges-properventilation.html

A Lynnbrook, NY school closed its firing range in the basement due to high levels of airborne lead http://www.nytimes.com/1999/11/12/nyregion/lead-detected-in-rifle-range-brings-closing-of-li-school.html . Blood lead screening in Alaska shows dangerous levels associated with school firing ranges. http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5423a1.htm

"The U.S. Center for Disease Control recognizes blood lead levels (BLLs) of >25 µg/dL in adults and >10 µg/dL in children aged <6 years as levels of concern; no similar level has been set for older children and adolescents (1,2). During 2002--2004, the Alaska Environmental Public Health Program (EPHP) conducted lead-exposure assessments of school-based indoor shooting teams in the state, after a BLL of 44 µg/dL was reported in a man aged 62 years who coached a high school shooting team in central Alaska. This report summarizes the results of the EPHP investigation of potential lead exposure in 66 members of shooting teams, aged 7--19 years, who used five indoor firing ranges. The findings suggest that improper design, operation, and maintenance of ranges were the likely cause of elevated BLLs among team members at four of the five firing ranges. Public health officials should identify indoor firing ranges that have not implemented lead-safety measures and offer consultation to reduce the risk for lead exposure among shooters, coaches, and employees."

Although outdoor firing ranges put more lead into the environment than nearly any other major industrial sector in the United States, they remain almost entirely unregulated. In just two years a typical outdoor firing range can have lead contamination equivalent to a five-acre Superfund site.

http://noflac.org/http:/noflac.org/lead/

###

Militarizing Education

Rick Jahnkow - A Strategic Blind Spot for Progressives

Many advocates of progressive social change in this country are asking important questions about possible directions to follow after the 2008 election. For the peace movement, this question is particularly challenging because, while there is good reason to celebrate the defeat of the Republican Party and the election of the first African American president, there is also a real danger that Obama's victory will undercut anti-war protest if he doesn't move quickly to end the Bush administration's two wars.

Many liberals might feel overly confident about the degree of change that is coming and decide that the new administration deserves to be given breathing space. It would then become much harder to mobilize opposition if Obama made good on his promise to shift the emphasis on military action from Iraq to Afghanistan.

Max Elbaum comments on this likely problem in the November 30, 2008, issue of War Times/Tiempo de Guerras:

> *On the positive side, conditions are more favorable than before to spread and consolidate sentiment that has gained ground as the public's "common sense" . . . At the same time, this new set of circumstances is likely to make it difficult for the antiwar movement to demonstrate significant clout and turn sentiment into mass action when acting on its own.*

He goes on to predict that anti-war demonstrations would be smaller than in the past and that "new rounds of antiwar education and organizing constituency-by-constituency will be required before the streets can again be filled."

Cross-constituency organizing may be the peace movement's best hope for avoiding severe irrelevancy in the near future. Unfortunately, it also has always been a difficult challenge for the peace movement, in part because its membership has traditionally come from a disproportionately white, college-educated, professional-class base. To stimulate anti-war activism beyond this relatively privileged demographic, Elbaum and others have correctly urged the peace movement to broaden its scope and find ways to actively support other social movements, especially those whose constituencies are greatly victimized by the economic and discriminatory aspects of war and militarism. It's not just a politically correct strategy, it's a necessary one if the peace movement wants to become a more relevant, effective and sustainable force.

In addition to reaching out to other movements, there is another level of strategic thinking that is badly needed and is key to all grass-roots movement building, yet it has generally been ignored by the peace movement and most other progressive organizations. Essentially, it boils down to this: Peace and other progressive movement organizations in the U.S. are usually quick to engage in activities to mobilize people, such as electoral campaigns, legislative lobbying, and street protests. But most of them have a blind spot when it comes to understanding and affecting the basic long-

term factors, like the educational system, that shape the general public's perception of issues and its willingness to embrace change.

Failure to include this level of strategic thinking makes it difficult for a movement to develop a proactive plan to grow its base and relegates it to relying on unpredictable events, usually crises, to build public support. Over time, this approach severely limits a movement's effectiveness and sustainability, and it also creates an opening for those on the opposing side of an issue to proactively step in with a long-term strategy that will give them the upper hand.

The Impact of Basic Education on Social Change

Most people think that individuals form their political opinions as adults. But actually, the cultural views and beliefs that shape political choices are set at a much younger age through the process of socialization. Institutions responsible for this process include the family, religious organizations, mass media, peer groups and others.

One of the most important institutions of socialization is the educational system. It exerts an extremely powerful influence because of the large amount of time that young people spend in the school environment during their peak formative years, and because enormous pressure is placed on students to internalize the lessons and information imparted there. Much of that information is designed to cultivate a particular perspective on history and human relationships, including biases that are later relevant when children grow up and become part of the political consensus on which governments depend. Some of them also carry the early lessons they've learned into careers with the media and other influential institutions, making socialization a circular process.

Given the central role that schools have in shaping the perspectives and behavior of young people – and thus the political consensus of the country — it is understandable why religious conservatives have traditionally put a high priority on influencing school board elections and school curricula, especially with regard to such issues as sex education and the teaching of evolution. Their goal has been to ensure that their particular value system is reflected in learning content, and thus exert an influence over the social and political environment. Corporations have been pursuing a similar strategy by using partnerships and monopolistic product contracts with schools that permit them to promote consumerism and establish early brand loyalty among young people.

Despite the general rightward drift that this ongoing effort by conservative forces can stimulate, there has been no equal, corresponding effort by progressive organizations to provide a counter-balance. It is not surprising, then, that past gains around issues like reproductive rights, racial tolerance and economic justice in this country are sometimes reversed or require continuous struggle.

Selling Militarism, K-12

There is another entity investing itself in schools that presents an even greater threat to progressive social change movements and therefore deserves their serious attention: the U.S. military.

In 1978, after the Pentagon had been forced by the anti-Vietnam War movement to give up conscription, an interesting statement was made by Thomas Carr, the Pentagon's thenDirector of Defense Education. Carr said that in the future, with the involvement of a large proportion of young people with military service, the military would "become a major instrument for youth socialization – assuming a large portion of the role once dominated by the family, the church, the school and civilian work setting."

It's important to understand the context for Carr's statement. At the time, he was in a good position to know something about the Pentagon's plans for coping with the serious challenges it faced in the post-Vietnam climate. The popularity of the military as a career was at a low point, and the government could no longer simply draft cannon fodder for its wars. To restore its image and fill its ranks, the military was about to mount aggressive recruiting and mass marketing campaigns designed to popularize the idea of soldiering.

Eventually, with significant increases in recruitment funding and the help of some of the most experienced advertising firms, the effort to reach out to and influence young people grew steadily in sophistication and scope. As it did, Thomas Carr's prediction began to come true without even requiring a large number of young people to actually join the military.

The effort to militarize youth has advanced so far that today, some 30 years later, military training programs are indoctrinating half a million students who attend daily Jr. ROTC classes in approximately 3000 secondary schools. Many of these campuses include rifle ranges where students learn to shoot with pellet guns, in stark contrast to zero-tolerance for weapons policies. A few districts have gone so far as to begin converting some of their public high schools into actual military academies (Chicago leads the nation with six).

The lessons students are taught in Jr. ROTC emphasize treating each other according to military ranks, studying "followership," and learning obedience to all authority. After reading many of the Jr. ROTC textbooks, I can attest that they also provide a heavy dose of edited history and selective civics lessons, spun with a conservative military bias. Martin Luther King, Jr., for example, is mentioned as a civil rights advocate, but nothing is said about his uncompromising opposition to all violence and war. And students are told the U.S. went to war with Spain in 1898 to free Cuba from Spanish rule, ignoring the fact that our goal was to bring Cuba into our own exploitive sphere of influence and take over as ruler of the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico.

At lower grade levels, programs like the Young Marines are teaching thousands of children in elementary and middle schools to march and follow commands. Militaristic grooming is also aided by an expanding network of military/school partnerships, through which groups of children are sometimes taken on field trips to military bases and ships.

Because of legislative intervention by the U.S. Congress and an affirming decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, secondary schools and colleges have been forced to give military recruiters access to students and campuses, thereby eroding local educational autonomy and the important principle of civilian rule. But even when it's not mandatory, most secondary schools have been willing to grant special access privileges to the military. For example, approximately 14,000 high schools now use the military's enlistment screening test, the ASVAB, as their method of vocational aptitude testing. Schools have a right to block recruiter access to the highly personal information

gathered via the ASVAB, but according to Dept. of Defense statistics, they fail to do so for 90% of the 600,000 students who take the test each year.

These are a few examples of how youths have been the target of militarism inside our public school system, but outside the school environment there are equally alarming patterns. For instance, the military is now licensing large department store chains, like Sears, to mass-market clothing with official military logos. The Army has spent millions developing and distributing free computer gaming software, and now it is experimenting with a $12-million virtual warfare simulator near Philadelphia. Essentially a recruiting device the size of three basketball courts, this "Army Experience Center" is open to members of the public as young as age 13.

Dangerous Parallels

One San Diego Indymedia writer, Rocky Neptun, has recently looked at similarities between the militarization of education in Nazi Germany and the trend in U.S. schools. Considering the type of lessons taught by Jr. ROTC and the exposure it gives students to weapons training, it's startling to read comments that Neptun found from German General Hellmuth Stellrecht, like the following taken from a 1937 lecture (emphasis added):

> *All that has been learned serves, from a military point of view, nothing but to get close to the enemy and to bring arms into effect. The entire education and training remains without value if it does not lead to the full effect of the weapon against the enemy. All training therefore culminates in training in shooting. It cannot be emphasized enough and because shooting is a matter of practice one cannot start too early. In the course of years we want to achieve that a gun feels just as natural in the hands of a German boy as a pen. It is a strange state of mind in a nation if, through years many hours every day are spent in practicing penmanship and grammatical writing but not a single hour in practice-shooting. Liberalism put the following slogan above school doors: "knowledge is power". We, on the other hand, have found . . . that the power of a nation, in the last analysis, always rests on its arms and on those who know how to handle them.*
>
> *He who cannot give orders to himself, must get used to obeying the orders of others and to feel the obligation [to do so] so strongly that even at the most dangerous moment it does not fail. It is a fine thing when a man of 20 learns to obey unconditionally but it is much better when the boy of ten starts to put his own wishes aside, to renounce, to give in, and to serve the will of the community.*

Interestingly, as the director of military education during the Nazi regime, Stellrecht would have been the counterpart of Director of Defense Education Carr, who 40 years later predicted that the U.S. military would take over "a large portion of the role once dominated by the family, the church, the school and civilian work setting."

Given the part that militarized education played in the Nazi effort to socialize and manipulate German youth for the Third Reich, one would think that any remotely similar approach would be quickly rejected here. It was, after all, early leaders of this country who repeatedly spoke against allowing the military establishment to extend its influence into civilian affairs, because military values, they understood, directly conflicted with democratic values. Samuel Adams, for example,

warned in 1768 that “where military power is introduced, military maxims are propagated and adopted which are inconsistent with and must soon eradicate every idea of civil government.”

Unfortunately, while the process of youth militarization in the U.S. has now been visibly detectable for three decades, there has been no serious national debate on the issue. A small number of grass-roots organizations have been working since the 1980s to contest the military’s growing presence in schools, and current U.S. wars have stimulated heightened awareness of aggressive recruiting, but the overall trend of school and youth militarization is getting relatively little national attention. Even the U.S. peace movement has failed to make it a primary focus for protest.

The Window is Open — For Now

When the U.S. war in Vietnam finally came to an end, many of us who had been protesting the war could not imagine that such a thing would ever happen again. No one, we assumed, would fall for the same pattern of government lying to justify a war, and the government’s fear of the so-called Vietnam Syndrome would discourage military aggression in the future. As later events proved, those of us who believed this were obviously mistaken, in part because we underestimated what it would take to bring about genuine change to the U.S.

When many people shifted their attention to other issues after the Vietnam War, or simply dropped out of political activism, the conservative forces that had lost ground during the upheaval of the 1960s and ’70s, including the Pentagon, adopted a relatively quiet, values-based strategy to gradually rebuild their influence and political power. The result was resurgent militarism, along with 28 years of destructive policies under Presidents Reagan through Bush #2.

The challenge for us today is to not repeat the mistake of being lulled by a momentary promise of change. We have to recognize that history will keep recurring if we don’t move beyond the short-term strategies of the past. Yes, we need to be ready to protest when legislators and the Obama administration don’t live up to our expectations, but we also need to give a high priority to addressing the socialization process that underlies the social and political climate. Toward that end, one of the most important immediate goals to pursue is the demilitarization of our schools.

This article is from Draft NOtices, the newsletter of the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (http://www.comdsd.org/)

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Rick Jahnkow - Congress Plants Another Pentagon Virus in Public Education

Another hole has been ripped open in the barrier protecting U.S. civilians from the influence of militarism. In December 2001, the U.S. House and Senate gave final approval to an education bill with a provision that severely erodes the right of local schools to control military access to campuses and personal information about students. The legislation, signed by President Bush on January 8, 2002, will go into effect soon as Public Law No: 107-110.

The military access law was part of a larger bill (H.R. 1) that provides various funds for local schools and programs to improve student performance. The bill also extends and changes programs begun under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Section 9528 of the new legislation states:

> *Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide, on a request made by military recruiters or an institution of higher education, access to secondary school students' names, addresses, and telephone listings. It also directs that each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide military recruiters the same access to secondary school students as is provided generally to postsecondary educational institutions or to prospective employers of those students.*

Schools that fail to conform to these requirements will lose substantial federal education funds.

Originally, the Senate version of the bill did not penalize schools for placing restrictions on military recruiting. However, the House version, which sought to coerce schools into cooperating with the Pentagon, prevailed for the most part in joint conference committee negotiations. Some believe the post-September 11 political climate was responsible for this.

On the positive side, there is a stipulation that a secondary school student or the parent of the student may request that the student's name, address, and telephone number not be released without written consent, and public and private schools will be required to notify parents of this option. This reinforces preexisting law -- the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) -- that grants the right to opt out when student lists are released.

The Secretary of Education has until May 8 to notify all secondary schools of the new recruiter access requirements. It is possible that proposed regulations implementing the law will be published in the Federal Register, with time provided for public comment before final regulations are printed in the Federal Register.

During all of this time, school districts that have restrictive recruiting policies can consider various options for new policies.

One possible response from schools would be to make sure that information about the right of students and parents to opt out when student lists are being given to recruiters is presented to them in a very prominent way and is translated into other languages in large immigrant

communities. Forms with check-off boxes could also be issued to facilitate the process of opting out, and their completion could be a required part of annual school registration.

Since schools will be required to give military recruiters the same campus access that is offered to representatives of higher education and prospective employers, schools could also make sure that military recruiters get nothing more than what the other entities are offered. For example, the military could be prohibited from sending speakers to schools unless a forum has been established for students to also hear alternative speakers. Or schools could explore policies that would set standards for nondiscrimination that would be applied equally to all outside campus and career representatives.

The different responses that will be possible to the new law will depend not only on how the final regulations are worded, but also on the politics in each community and the degree to which schools are determined to maintain their civilian autonomy. The Pentagon understands the key role that education plays in determining the future political climate in the U.S. People with progressive politics and values need to be equally aware of this role and recognize the disastrous long-term consequences we will face if the militarization of education is allowed to go any further.

Forced Militarization: a Growing Trend in Education

The latest effort by the military to force its way into young people's lives via the new high school access law is not an isolated event. It is part of a steady progression in the militarization of education in the U.S. that goes back almost two decades. It began in the 1980s, when a law was passed to deny federal financial aid to students who refused to register for a possible future military draft. College campuses were required to act as agents for the Selective Service System and assist with the implementation and enforcement of the law. Then states began adopting their own parallel laws to deny state sponsored student aid and even college admission, in some cases, to non-registrants.

When college campuses began banning military recruiters and ROTC because of the military's discrimination against non-heterosexuals, Congress retaliated. Laws were passed in the 1990s that cut off federal funds to any college or university that did not drop its opposition to ROTC and grant recruiters access to campuses and student directory information. Such a degree of coercion was notable in that it had not been used even during the 1960s, when campus banning of recruiters and ROTC programs was much more widespread.

Parallel to its push into colleges, the military became more assertive in establishing its presence in K-12 schools in the 1990s, including kicking off a massive expansion of military classroom programs like JROTC. As this developed, and as the U.S. also became more active in military intervention abroad, community opposition to recruiting in high schools began to spread. Some secondary school districts -- really a relatively small number nationwide -- placed restrictions on recruiter access to students and campuses; partly in response to counter-recruitment activity, but also sometimes in response to incidents of extremely aggressive, inappropriate recruiter behavior.

As the propensity for young people to enlist began to diminish in the 1990s, frustrated recruiters sought to blame schools for their failure to meet their (probably unrealistic) enlistment quotas. They went to Congress with unsubstantiated stories of being banned from thousands of public

high schools, which Congress accepted without question. As a result, the same coercive approach used against colleges will soon be used against high schools with the recruiter access measure signed into law by President Bush on January, 8, 2002. The only element missing this time is a requirement that all high schools accept JROTC. But don't be surprised if that becomes the next stage in the progression.

This article is from Draft NOtices, the newsletter of the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (http://www.comdsd.org/notices.htm).

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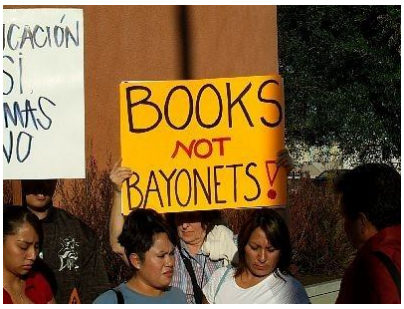
Michael Lujan Bevacqua - Militarism in the Land, the Water and the Schools



I am constantly surprised at the ways in which people are surprised at things.

I suppose that anywhere, you go, you can find things which are normal there and abnormal or incomprehensible elsewhere. Coming from Guam, a pretty little American territory/colony in the Western Pacific, I find alot of things which "shock" regular Americans, aren't so strange to me.

Often times, when people remark that Guam is so gof gof suette because we don't have to pay Federal income taxes, my response is a very sincere request that our positions be changed then. That this person I am talking to and whatever state they call home, switch its political status so that it becomes like that of Guam. So yes, by all means, take the no Federal income tax rule, but, you simply can't just take this benefit alone, you also have to accept with it, the overall dinimalas of being a colony. You have to take the lack of a voting Congressional representative, and also regardless of your population, no representation in the Senate whatsoever.

What generally shocks people, however and makes them realize the unsavoriness of becoming like Guam, is the fact that, then your state must give up 30% of its area to the United States military to be transformed into Air Force, Navy and soon to be built Marine Corps bases. Most of these people, who think very simplistically about the fortune of being the colony of Guam, never make it to considering this point, and even if they are patriotic, flag waving Americans, who profess a profound love and respect for the troops, this idea of having 1/3 of their states controlled by the military, tends to shake them to their very core.

It is almost as if, they are forced to see past their rhetoric, their illusions, and confront what they truly feel about something. That while the military defends, protects, it is also a fearsome creature, in many ways what Giles Delueze called the war machine (i makinan gera). In addition to protecting life, the military destroys life, and not just the enemy's lives, but the lives of those it

protects as well. The military sucks away resources, and rarely in very balanced or well managed ways. For instance, in my department, someone has on the door of their office a cartoon that wishes for the day when public schools will be well funded, and the military will have to hold bake sales. This is the sort of illusion that the military actively engineers in order to protect itself, and to keep its image positive.

In high schools for instance in California, JROTC programs are advertised as bringing in income and money to schools. They are advertised as being important programs for getting kids into college as well. Both of these points however are rarely true. In fact, JROTC programs can end up costing schools far more than they bring in, because of the gap in what the Department of Defense reimburses the school, and what they require the school pay in order to set up the program. Furthermore, in the California state college system, military science courses taken through JROTC do not count towards college. As if to make things worse, the money put up to establish JROTC in schools, tends to get taken away from actual college prepatory programs.

In Guam, we have the idea that the United States military is an "environmental steward," or a good and loving caretaker of the environment. While in some ways, we can see this, as certain pet projects such as the eradication of the brown tree snake or the protection of endangered species on Guam become central to the public relations campaigns of the military. We also get this impression of the military as being better at watching out for the environment because of dikike' na kosas, such as the pristine conditions of their lawns, the lack of abandoned cars by the roadsides in their bases, and in an almost ridiculous way, the better paint jobs on their houses.

All of this evidence in favor of the idea that the military is simply mampos kapas gi i umadadahi i tano', i tasi yan i aire, is nonetheless contradicted by the actual poisoning of the earth the military perpetuates in times of war and peace. Agent Orange, Depleted Uranium, Nuclear Fallout, Toxic Waste, Mustard Gas, these are all weapons of mass destruction of chemical warfare which have been brought to Guam and affected the health of its residents, and as some cancer research indicates, has affected our health and environment in catastrophic ways.

I think that when I ask people to imagine what it would be like if 30% of California or Oregon or New York was military bases, it shatters that sort of positive illusion that surrounds the military, and forces these people to think about what the military means in their lives, and to think beyond the platitudes about defense, and also see what other less "patriotic" impacts it can have.

Recently, as I've become involved with the group Project on Youth Alternatives and Non-Military Options or Project YANO, I have found another point which can shock people into rethinking what the military means in daily life.

For instance, when I tell people that in San Diego the JROTC has built and is building firing ranges at San Diego high schools, most people react with almost pure shock. Although these firing ranges aren't using real weapons, but just air powered rifles, the idea that young high school students are being trained to handle weapons, forces people to recognize not just the violent aspects of militarism, but more so the predatory aspects of it, which we see through the recruitment of students at increasingly young ages in order to meet recruitment targets.

In order to build these firing ranges and fund the JROTC programs, money has been taken away from college prep courses such as AVID and Advanced Placement. In addition, in the hopes of giving the impression of enthusiastic student support for JROTC, at Mission Bay and Lincoln High Schools, students were enrolled in JROTC without their or their parents' consent.

For the past few months, The Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft has been conducting public meetings in order to gauge community outrage over the firing range issue, and has ciruclated petitions, held protests and built up a diverse coalition, with the hopes of addressing the following issues:

1. Removing the firing ranges from San Diego high schools (since they violate the no weapons ban in schools)
2. Stop the violations of California Education Code 51750, which prohibits involuntary enrollment in military science classes.
3. The inadequate offering of college prep classes and academic electives that students can take instead of JROTC, and require that parents and students be informed that military sciences classes do not count towards college admissions.

On Feb. 12th, San Diego parents, students and teachers held a protest as the city school board meeting, hoping to receive a full and fair hearing on this issue, and that their concerns be addressed. I'm pasting below photos from the protest:

Source: http://minagahet.blogspot.com/2008/02/militarism-in-land-water-andschools.html

I go to School to have a
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JROTC

NO WEAPONS TRAINING
NO WEAPONS TRAINING

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Military Recruitment

Jorge Mariscal - Military Recruitment and the Immigration Debate

In an obscure memoir of the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, an undocumented Mexican who had enlisted in the U.S. Army with the aid of an unscrupulous recruiter, writes: “I realized that for me to live in the United States, the system was asking me to pay a high price. Now I probably would have to give my life. Was it worth it?”

During the Vietnam War period, citizens from foreign countries in the U.S. military were rare and unknown to the public. Today, although they make up only a small percentage of the overall force, they appear regularly in media stories, Pentagon publicity, and nativist rants about a Mexican invasion.

Non-citizens make up 3-5% of total military personnel. To date, they have received more than 200 medals and awards in the combat zone. More than 100 of them have received posthumous citizenship after making the ultimate sacrifice. The majority of them have roots in Mexico and Latin America.

Is the U.S. military becoming a foreign legion? Not yet, but the strain on active duty, Reserve, and National Guard personnel is becoming unbearable. General David Petraeus’s report to Congress last month — and even recent statements made by Democratic Party presidential candidates — make clear that the occupation of Iraq will last many more years. Fresh bodies will be hard to find, so there is renewed interest in a piece of legislation that could produce a bumper crop of eligible non-citizens for recruiters.

The Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act has been floating around the halls of Congress for more than six years, and Draft NOtices was one of the first publications to warn about its military component. If passed, the legislation would provide a pathway to permanent residency for undocumented young people who were raised and completed high school in the United States. Those who qualify would have to complete two years of college or enlist in the military in order to earn a permanent green card.

The Latino community was quick to support the legislation because of its educational component, but for the first five years there was a deafening silence in Latino circles about the military option. This changed only recently when the Pentagon and elected officials began to openly discuss the DREAM Act as a possible fix for the military’s manpower needs.

In 2006, Bill Carr, Acting Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Military Personnel Policy, told reporters that the DREAM legislation would help boost military recruiting. Last July, Senator Dick Durbin (D-Illinois) said, "The DREAM Act would address a very serious recruitment crisis that faces our military. Under the DREAM Act, tens of thousands of well qualified potential recruits would become eligible for military service for the first time."

Lt. Col. Margaret Stock of the U.S. Army Reserve and a faculty member at West Point who helped draft the legislation confirmed that the DREAM Act could help recruiters meet their goals by providing a "highly qualified cohort of young people." She added, “Passage of the bill could well solve the Armed Forces’ enlisted recruiting woes.”

Drawing on cultural stereotypes about “Hispanic culture,” she told the Orange County Register that “Hispanic immigrants who would be affected by this bill would be even more likely to join the military because it is considered the honorable thing to do in the Hispanic culture.” One wonders if Lt. Col. Stock is teaching her cadets such banal and reductive clichés about diverse Latino traditions.

The irony, of course, is that while the Pentagon chases young non-citizens to fill the ranks of the U.S. occupation forces, other non-citizen workers whose economic contributions to the nation are undeniable are being pursued and harassed by other agencies of the U.S. government.

As one worker told me, Latino communities are experiencing a “double deportation.” On the one hand, military recruiters are flooding high schools with Latino majorities and the Pentagon is pushing hard for passage of the DREAM Act. Many of those young people who are successfully recruited will end up in Iraq and Afghanistan. A metaphorical deportation, of course, but from the family’s point of view a painful removal of a loved one nonetheless.

At the same time, the undocumented parents and siblings of those soldiers, sailors, aviators, and Marines watch as armored vehicles carrying teams of armed officers invade their neighborhoods to conduct Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids. Just this month, for example, in the working-class neighborhood of Barrio Logan in San Diego, local police surrounded a ten-block area while helicopters circled overhead and ICE agents swept through in full combat regalia. Similar actions are taking place across the country.

Some of these parents have been arrested and scheduled for deportation hearings. Remember that these are parents whose sons and daughters are fighting “for democracy” in Iraq. One such case is that of U.S. Army Private Armando Soriano, 20, who died in Iraq in 2004. This summer ICE raids swept through Houston. Armando’s father was detained and is currently threatened with deportation.

In late September, Senator Durbin agreed to drop the in-state tuition rate clause of the

DREAM Act in response to pressure from restrictionist groups and to garner more Republican votes. This change would have blocked many undocumented students from taking the college option and, inadvertently or not, would have placed them on the military pathway to legalization. Despite Durbin’s concessions, the DREAM amendment was not attached to this year’s defense appropriations bill and so disappeared once again into the congressional ether for at least several more months, if not forever.

If the DREAM Act ever does resurface and is eventually approved, thousands of Latino youth who are unable to take the college option will be tempted to enlist to attain legal status. With no end in sight to the occupation of Iraq and with other wars looming in the future, they, like the undocumented Mexican soldier in Vietnam, will have to ask themselves whether or not the price is simply too high.

Information sources: Congressional Record--Senate (July 13, 2007); Ernesto Portillo, Jr., "DREAM Act better than nothing, but flawed," Arizona Star (September 26, 2007); Vanja Petrovic, "DREAM Act blocked from defense bill," Orange County Register (September 27, 2007). This article is from Draft NOtices, the newsletter of the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (http://www.comdsd.org)

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Privacy Rights in Schools

Pat Elder - Forced Military Testing in America's Schools

The invasion of student privacy associated with military testing in U.S. high schools has been well documented by mainstream media sources, like USA Today and NPR Radio. The practice of mandatory testing, however, continues largely unnoticed.

The Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery, or **ASVAB** is the military's entrance exam that is given to fresh recruits to determine their aptitude for various military occupations. The test is also used as a recruiting tool in 12,000 high schools across the country. The 3 hour test is used by military recruiting services to gain sensitive, personal information on more than 660,000 high school students across the country every year, the vast majority of whom are under the age of 18. Students typically are given the test at school without parental knowledge or consent. The school-based ASVAB Career Exploration Program is among the military's most effective recruiting tools.

In roughly 11,000 high schools where the ASVAB is administered, students are strongly encouraged to take the test for its alleged value as a career exploration tool, but in more than 1,000 schools, according to information received from the U.S. Military Entrance Processing Command through a Freedom of Information Act request, tens of thousands of students are required to take it. It is a particularly egregious violation of civil liberties that has been going on almost entirely unnoticed since the late 1960's.

Federal laws strictly monitor the release of student information, but the military manages to circumvent these laws with the administration of the ASVAB. In fact, ASVAB test results are the only student information that leaves U.S. schools without the opportunity provided for parental consent.

Aside from managing to evade the constraints of federal law, the military may also be violating many state laws on student privacy when it administers the ASVAB in public high schools. Students taking the ASVAB are required to furnish their social security numbers for the tests to be processed, even though many state laws specifically forbid such information being released without parental consent. In addition, the ASVAB requires under-aged students to sign a privacy release statement, a practice that may also be prohibited by many state laws.

A typical school announcement reads, "All Juniors will report to the cafeteria on Monday at 8:10 a.m. to take the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery. Whether you're planning on college, a technical school, or you're just not sure yet, the ASVAB Career Exploration Program can provide you with important information about your skills, abilities and interests – and help put you on the right course for a satisfying career!" This announcement or one very similar to it greets students in more than a thousand high schools across the country. There's no mention of the military or the primary purpose of the test, which is to find leads for recruiters.

Imagine you're Captain Eric W. Johnson, United States Navy, Commander, United States Military Entrance Processing Command and you had the complete cooperation of the Arkansas Department of Education to recruit high school students into the U.S. military.

The first step you might take is to require juniors in public high schools to take the ASVAB. ASVAB results are good for enlistment purposes for up to two years. The ASVAB offers a treasure trove of information on students and allows the state's top recruiter to prescreen the entire crop of incoming potential recruits. "Sit down, shut up, and take this test. That's an order!"

142 Arkansas high schools forced 10,000 children to take this military test without parental consent in Arkansas alone last year. "We've always done it that way and no one has ever complained," explained one school counselor.

The Army recruiter's handbook calls for military recruiters to take ownership of schools and this is one way they're doing it. The U.S. Army Recruiting Command ranks each high school based on how receptive it is to military recruiters. Schools are awarded extra points when they make the ASVAB mandatory. See page 25 of: USAREC pub. 601-107

Meanwhile, military recruiting regulations specifically prohibit that the test from being made mandatory.

"Voluntary aspect of the student ASVAB: School and student participation in the Student Testing Program is voluntary. DOD personnel are prohibited from suggesting to school officials or any other influential individual or group that the test be made mandatory. Schools will be encouraged to recommend most students participate in the ASVAB Career Exploration Program. If the school requires all students of a particular group or grade to test, the MEPS will support it." See Page 3-1 of USMEPCOM Reg. 601-4 Is it entirely coincidental that a thousand schools require students to take the test or does the Department of Defense have regulations in place solely for public consumption that it has no intention of following?

In addition, the Pentagon is grossly under reporting the number of schools with mandatory testing. There are hundreds of schools with required testing that are not reported by the DoD. For instance, the information released by the DoD for the '09-'10 school year shows there is no mandatory testing in Ohio. However, it is possible, using a simple Google search tool, in this case ("k12.oh.us" asvab "all juniors") to uncover several dozen schools that require students to take the ASVAB that are not reported by the Pentagon.

Why can't we get traction on this issue?

There is great reluctance in American society to stand up to the U.S. military, particularly concerning the way it runs a dozen programs in the nation's schools. Calls for transparency are met with silence and indignation, a terrible lesson for American high school students.

Source: http://www.commondreams.org/view/2012/01/04-0

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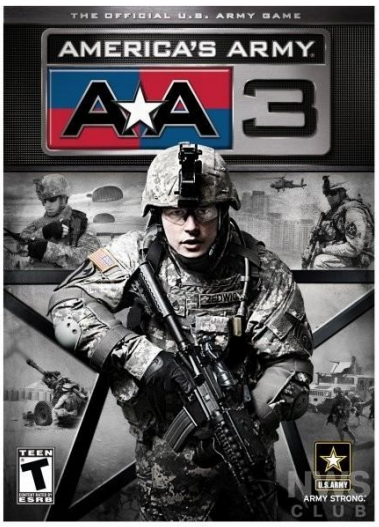
Pat Elder - How the U.S. collects data on potential recruits



The US military maintains an Orwellian database containing intimate details on 30 million youth between the ages of 16 and 25, providing local recruiters with personal information to use in a psychological campaign to lure on youth within their designated regions. Before meeting, recruiters know what's in Johnny's head, if Johnny has a girlfriend, and what she thinks of his decision regarding enlistment. We'll examine how they do it.

A federal law passed in 2002 under the Bush Administration provides military recruiters the names, addresses, and phone numbers of all American high school students, provided that parents and students are given the opportunity to "opt out" of the lists being forwarded to recruiters. To this day, the opt-out portion of the law remains relatively unknown and unenforced.

That law provides the military with current data on about 7 million high school juniors and seniors every year. This data provides the cornerstone of the Pentagon's massive "Joint Advertising Market Research Studies" (JAMRS) database. It encompasses: full name, date of birth, gender, address, city, state, zip code, e-mail address, ethnicity, telephone number, high school name, graduation date, grade point average, education level, college intent, military interest, field of study, current college attending, ASVAB Test date, and Armed Forces Qualifying Test Category Score.

The JAMRS database is also populated by data from the Selective Service System, which requires 18 year-old men to register for a potential military draft. Selective Service has the names and addresses of 15 million men 18 to 25 years old. Add to that total the data from the departments of motor vehicles from most states. Some states require young males to register with Selective Service to have their driver's licenses renewed in the year they turn 18. Both state and federal job training and college funding opportunities and federal employment are linked by law to proof of draft registration.

JAMRS also includes records from several formidable commercial sources. The database has information on 5 million college students purchased from corporate entities like Student Marketing Group and American Student List.

Pertinent data is delivered to the laptops of local recruiters which are loaded with the

PrizmNE Segmentation System, a software program purchased from the Nielson Company, whose clients include BMW, AOL, and Starbucks. PrizmNE is a cutting-edge commercial marketing system that combines "demographic, consumer behavior, and geographic data pertaining to individual prospects." This information is merged by recruiters with personal information from social media sites like Twitter and Facebook and the result is staggering. Before first contact, recruiters know Johnny reads wrestling magazines, weighs 150, can bench press 230, drives a ten year-old Chevy truck, loves Pink Floyd's "Dark Side of the Moon," and enjoys fly fishing.

It matters. Recruiting is a psychological game. Imagine the first phone call. "Dude, hold on; the Staff Sergeant always cranks up Pink Floyd; sorry for the noise…He's tryin' to tell me it's time to go out fly fishin'…"

The Army sure must be cool. Advantage: Recruiter.

The data described above paints a virtual portrait of a potential recruit, but leaves out a potential soldier's cognitive abilities. The Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) Career Exploration Program provides this crucial element, something the Pentagon can't purchase or find on line. The ASVAB is the military's entrance exam that is given to fresh recruits to determine their aptitude for various military occupations. The test is also used as a recruiting tool in 12,000 high schools across the country. The 3 hour test is used by recruiters to gain sensitive, personal information on more than 660,000 high school students across the country each year. Students typically are given the test at school without parental knowledge or consent. The ASVAB is used to pre-qualify leads in the high schools and the scores are good for enlistment purposes for two years. Now recruiters know if a teenager can factor polynomials or decipher different types of fuel injection systems.

Websites

The Department of Defense has several recruiting websites that collect information.

Typically, the military hides its true recruiting intentions. For instance, you'd have to dig pretty deep on the www.asvabprogram.com site to find out what the acronym stands for. The website never explains that the primary purpose of the ASVAB is to produce leads for recruiters.

http://www.myfuture.com/, a sophisticated DoD site that provides rather biased career, education and military options for youth, never reveals its tie-in to recruiting. Its affiliation with the military is buried. Users are required to register to use the site and their information is used for recruiting purposes.

Each of the branches, reserves, and Guard units has their own websites that collect data. Most have a presence on Facebook, You Tube, and Twitter. Recruiters spend countless hours trolling these sources.

http://todaysmilitary.com/ is an obvious military site that collects information on users. The Army sponsored www.BoostUp.org , a now dormant high school dropout prevention campaign which had a presence on social media sites. For the post-dropout set, Job Corps http://www.jobcorps.gov serves approximately 60,000 youth annually at Job Corps Centers

throughout the country. These youth are seriously courted by the military and most are required to take the ASVAB test. (Job Corps Centers have recently added or designated dorms for returning veterans who still lack job skills to survive in the job market, despite the promises of recruiters.)

For high achieving students, the Army sponsors http://www.ecybermission.com/, a web-based engineering and mathematics competition for the 10-14 year-old set where teams compete for awards. The website recruits ambassadors and cyber guides for various competitions who must complete a lengthy application. Also for the high achievers, March 2 Success, https://www.march2success.com/ is an Army site that provides standardized test-taking tips for high school students. High school counselors routinely encourage college-bound students to use the free service that catalogues student use for recruiting purposes. Personal information finds its way to recruiters.

http://www.armystrongstories.com/ is an Army recruiting website program ostensibly dedicated to telling the Army story. Although soldiers are invited to share their "unfiltered perspective" on life in the military, submissions that do not comply with content guidelines are not posted. Army life is great.

There are more than a half a million results for "US Army" just on My Space, another favorite hangout for recruiters.

Google and Yahoo forums also provide fertile recruiting grounds. Recruiters "lurk" in these virtual settings, often posing as potential recruits with questions designed to lure responses. "What kind of job could I get with a really low ASVAB score?" is a favorite.

America's Army 3, rated "Teen Blood Violence," http://www.americasarmy.com/ is the official U.S. Army video game that competes with violent commercial offerings. The game has become one of the Army's most effective recruiting tools. Recruiters skulk in this corner of cyberspace and trade comments about the utility of say, M106 smoke grenades. Users as young as 13 agree to allow information entered to "being stored in a database." Marketing research indicates this is a more effective recruiting tool than all other Army advertisements combined, but the same experts caution that virtual reality could also help muddle the reality of war.

Recruiters collect a mountain of information during frequent, popular displays of military hardware. They methodically gather leads during air shows and parades and they seldom miss career fairs, particularly those at the local high school. The military also owns several dozen "adventure vans," 18-wheel tractor trailers that crisscross the country and visit high schools. High school kids love getting out of Algebra class to squeeze off rounds from simulated M-16 rifles. All the while, recruiters are collecting data on index cards and PC's that are fed to the JAMRS database and neighborhood recruiters.

Finally, the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) is the military's most valuable recruiting program in the schools. Children as young as thirteen are groomed to be officers. Their personal information is meticulously gathered and preserved. There are JROTC units at more than 3,200 high schools across the country, where students perform military drills and participate in marksmanship programs.

The notion of a voluntary American military force is laughable. To find soldiers, the U.S. has developed a massive military recruitment surveillance complex and few realize it. Is this what democracy looks like?

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Alternatives to Militarism

A Conversation - Engaging youth in non-violent alternatives to militarism

Governments around the world target youth for military recruitment and service. In response, human rights organizations have developed innovative ways of introducing youth to non-violent alternatives to military service and combating the culture of militarism. This tactical dialogue is a space for those working with and interested in engaging youth in non-violent alternatives to militarism to share their stories, challenges, resources and ideas.

New Tactics hosted this dialogue with the help and engagement of students from the St. Thomas University, Conflict Resolution studies course.

Growing Up in a Militaristic Environment

There is a general tendency within the U.S. and other countries to value the national military, which is supposed to protect citizens and act on their behalf. This is linked to the belief that violence is acceptable when inflicted by those in uniform.

Oftentimes militants are portrayed as heroes, and recently video games and other forms of media have had a major role in desensitizing youth to militaristic violence. Youth are even encouraged to join military preparation programs such as the Jr. Reserve Officer Training Program while still in grade school. In this way, the government has a considerable role in militarizing youth. It can create national initiatives and training camps to encourage patriotism and engage youth in militarism.

However, the reasoning behind joining the military varies drastically from youth to youth, even amongst those who grow up in similar social circumstances. Some feel that they have no other choice, and others who are forcefully recruited truly do not have a choice. Children often join militant groups to avoid poverty, social exclusion or inequality, etc., or to lessen the burden on their families and communities.

In some communities there is an expectation that youth who are able will join the military, and they are pressured into joining. Parents are often the source of this pressure. In other (although

fewer) cases, parents and communities participate in efforts to divert youth from militaristic action. Families and communities are also vital in the process of reintroducing those who have already been militarized back to civilian life.

Religion also plays a considerable role in the likelihood of youth to engage in militarism. Most religions deliver both violent and nonviolent messages, but different interpretations of religion can throw this balance to one side or the other.

Military Recruitment Tactics

Many youth in the U.S. join the military simply because it is one of their easiest post-high school options. It is much easier to join the military than it is to apply to college in most cases, and much less expensive. In fact, youths are given immediate (help paying for college, the chance to see the world) as well as long-term (job security) incentives to join the military. Job security is especially attractive when the economy is suffering as it is now, which is why military recruitment numbers actually increase during economic downturns.

Militaries usually can provide greater incentive for youth to join the military, especially as they have more money to spend on these efforts. An enormous amount of the state budget goes to military spending, rather than to other measures that would improve national security such as eradicating poverty and creating jobs. They also have young recruiters who are good at identifying and recruiting youth. Anti-military efforts need younger voices and a way to engage the youth themselves, rather than just targeting the bureaucratic side of the issue, which doesn't directly involve youth.

Military recruiters portray service as a great opportunity professionally, educationally, and monetarily. Students at many high schools, especially in rural America, hear this and have few other options laid out for them. Because recruiters put a lot of effort into areas where few others do, they are often successful. They make service seem glamorous, but the reality is very different from what recruiters, commercials, and other advertisements show. One way to help change this is by clearly listing both the benefits and disadvantages of joining the military, as many are not made aware of the dangerous realities of military service prior to their recruitment.

Armed groups also use the allure of power as a recruitment method. The power that having a gun or weapon gives one is also a dangerous lure to military life.

The UNDP assembled a report on Youth and Nonviolent Conflict that discusses, among other things, the role of gender for youth in militarism. It also includes a list of strategies used by militaristic groups to recruit youth.

Alternatives to Militarism

One possible alternative to military service for high school students (in the United States) is AmeriCorps. Many churches also offer service positions, some even partner with AmeriCorps and may also offer to fund some part of the volunteer's education. The Catholic Network of Volunteer

Services publishes a list of 200 similar service programs, both religious and secular, called "The Response Directory." However, while the military provides a steady salary, AmeriCorps does not, nor does it offer equal educational compensation, therefore it is not really an equal replacement option. Also, the military provides a career path, and AmeriCorps, etc., do not.

Sports can be a great way to bring youth together. In some areas, youth are brainwashed by militaristic groups or kidnapped, especially in areas where unemployment is high. In these areas, it can be difficult to reach out to youth and teach them about nonviolent ways of living, and utilizing the popularity and teamwork of sports can be a great first step to reaching out to youth. Sports also have a positive effect on participants' psychological health and can help to reduce aggressive behavior. However, while sports can keep youth busy and off the streets, they can sometimes encourage aggressive behavior and are also used in militant settings to increase competitiveness.

Educating youth about topics such as human rights, governance, and conflict issues can also help them make the choice to avoid militarism. A part of educating youth is pointing out the "tricks" that the military employs and detail examples of fraud within the military. Because those in uniform are thought to be trustworthy and honorable, pointing out fraud is necessary to counter this often false image of trust and respect.

Another great way to learn how to prevent youth from engaging in militarism is by listening those who have succeeded in resisting militarization themselves, despite being under great pressure. It is especially important to hear from those conscientious objectors to militarism who have actually participated in the military, or in other words, involve veterans in youth outreach efforts.

It is also important to incorporate parents in anti-militarism efforts, although these results will only be seen in the long-term.

Youth are heavily influenced by celebrity figures such as musicians and actors, therefore getting these role models involved in the anit-militarism movement could prove to be an invaluable tactic. However, Celebrity culture can also be detrimental to the cause, since in modern times in preaches sex and violence more than peace and love. The 1960s-70s are great example of music promoting peace.

Examples of Anti-Militarism Efforts and Other Successful Projects:

- Project YANO has succeeded in engaging youth.
- The German-Zambian Cooperation.
- Artistic alternatives: Pangea Theater and the Pilsbury House Theater.
- Muslim organizations promoting peace
- Youth actively resisting militarization
- Helping those already enlisted speak out against militarism
- Giving youth opportunities to learn and lead
- Counter-recruitment programs
- Using education to counter militarism
- Involving families in the fight against militarism
- Educating youth about alternative career options

To follow a thread of the dialogue focused on gender roles in the military, click here.

Conversation Leaders: *Amjad Ali, Youth Organization United through Hope (Youth Can), Oskar Castro, War Resisters League, Daniel Lakemacher, Center on Conscience & War, Pernille Ironside, UNICEF, Rick Jahnkow,Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO), Patrick Spahn, Center on Conscience*

Source: https://www.newtactics.org/conversation/engaging-youth-non-violent-alternatives-militarism

###

NNOMY Reader Addendum 2015 – 2025

Bringing Truth to the Youth: The Counter-Recruitment Movement, Then and Now

Emily Yates | Originally published in Truthout - July 16, 2016

"Back when we started, recruiters were just blatantly lying to the kids," said Susan Quinlan, the co-founder and volunteer coordinator of the peace and justice group, Better Alternatives for Youth–Peace (BAY-Peace). For 12 years, she's been bringing teams of youth into Oakland, California, schools to inform students about deceptive military recruiting practices. In that time, she has seen the recruitment climate in schools change drastically -- and not necessarily for the better.

"It used to be that recruiters would make promises to the kids that were patently untrue, like offering benefits that wouldn't materialize, for example, so our job was to go in and say, 'No, that's not true,'" Quinlan said. Then over the years, as the wars grew increasingly unpopular and recruitment dropped, the military beefed up the benefits and incentives to more closely match its promises. Many student activists saw that as a victory, she said, and as a result, the work lost urgency.

"The recruiters are still being dishonest," she said, "but it's become less obvious. And they haven't gone away. Now, recruitment is back up where it was before we started, and we're losing our funding."

Divestment from Truth

BAY-Peace's accomplishments include a Youth Manifesto Campaign that established a student privacy policy throughout the entire Oakland Unified School District. Yet, this unique organization is about to lose the support of the city whose youth it serves. And it's not the only one -- on a national level, the counter-recruitment movement is suffering from low funds and low participation, even as recruiters target younger children and wars rage on.

Rick Jahnkow remembers a time when the military did not have any official presence in schools. But in 1973, the draft ended, the "all-volunteer" force began, and a new era of military recruitment strode through American classroom doors. Right behind it, hustling to keep up, came the counter-recruitment movement. Nearly 50 years later, the race to reach the youth has become a marathon, and the Department of Defense has continuously stepped up its game.

"Since the end of conscription, military recruiting began to evolve based on the assumption that they couldn't open up a tap and have bodies come pouring out anymore," said Jahnkow, a former activist in the Vietnam War-era draft-resistance movement and current program coordinator of the San Diego-based Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO). "Recruitment had marketing and strategists," he explained. "That was how it evolved. As a response, counter-recruitment evolved as well."

Evolution doesn't always mean progress, however. Although activists keep moving toward the goal of bringing transparency to the military's messaging, the once-thriving movement's pace has slowed to a crawl. With funding and public involvement in a lull, the question haunting the minds of counter-recruiters like Quinlan and Jahnkow is, "What's next?"

Perpetual War -- Fighting and Recruitment

The two competing sides, military and counter-recruitment, are as closely matched in strength as a bull and a Corgi, but counter-recruiters still attempt to make up in grit, creativity and adaptability for what they lack in resources, numbers and establishment backing. They've avoided being entirely consumed by the military's superior staying power in schools because the counter-recruitment movement is fueled by the one factor that reliably hinders recruitment -- war.

"We now have a movement that's distinguished itself as specifically counter-recruitment, and it has ebbed and flowed during active wartime," said Seth Kershner, co-author of the 2015 book *Counter-Recruitment and the Campaign to Demilitarize Public Schools*. "When the war dies down, so does counter-recruitment. The big change in the movement now is

that everyone doing full-time counter-recruitment is doing it on a volunteer basis. Since public interest in war has changed, funding has diminished."

The United States has been actively waging two controversial wars for 15 years, but now even progressive support for counter-recruitment is drying up, Kershner said.

The movement has gone through cycles, Jahnkow said, and the current state of "perpetual war-fighting," as he and Kershner both call it, has made Americans less sensitive to aggressive military recruitment tactics. Counter-recruiters have had to use several alternative strategies to communicate with youth, due to the unlimited resources and access to schools that military recruiters enjoy in this climate. As well as visiting high schools and talking with students about the realities of military service, counter-recruiters work diligently to promote non-military alternatives for students and to push legislation regulating the presence of recruiters on campuses.

"Pervasive Penetration"

In the decades since recruitment in schools began, the practice has grown considerably.

"This 'new American militarism' … is a response to the challenge of annually recruiting more than 240,000 new volunteers into the military," Kershner said. "The result has been the pervasive penetration of the nation's schools by military recruiters and a massive propaganda effort to shape public consciousness and culture."

This appropriately named "pervasive penetration" takes many forms -- not only does the military have a recruitment budget of over $1.4 billion, but federal policies like the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act and its 2015 successor, the Every Child Succeeds Act, actually tie schools' funding to a requirement to turn over students' information to military recruiters unless parents specifically "opt out." There's also the massive Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) program, whose goal is to channel students into the military after graduation.

Fed up with having their privacy invaded and their curriculum militarized, students in Oakland, San Diego and Santa Barbara, California, have used both the hands-on and legislative approaches to counter-recruitment in an effort to keep the military out of their places of learning. Student activists in those cities successfully ousted JROTC from the Santa Barbara campus and won policy changes to restrict military access to students' information and recruiters' access to schools.

"The legislative approach takes longer, but victories are much easier to see," Kershner said. "In Massachusetts, for example, a veteran and a high school student led a coalition to pass a state bill that regulates ASVAB [Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery] testing in schools. In New Hampshire, the ASVAB used to be mandatory, and now it isn't. These legislative victories are important to see as progress -- and motivation to keep working."

Military Curriculum

Ideally, organizations would focus on high schools, but would also have the numbers and interest to work with middle and elementary schools, Kershner said. In 2010, the most recent year for which data are available, he reported that the Department of Defense was administering more than a dozen different programs and spending close to $50 million on K–12 outreach, targeting students pursuing the STEM fields of science, technology, engineering and math.

"Twenty years ago, there was hardly anything that sophisticated," Kershner said. "Now we have these programs, as well as the growth of military-style charter schools all over the country. It used to just be in Chicago, but now there are more like two dozen public schools putting students in uniforms every day."

Despite (or perhaps, because of) the increased military presence in schools, he said counter-recruitment groups have had difficulty with their own access.

"It's interesting to note that there is a legal precedent for counter-recruiters to have equal access … there are more and more groups that want to be involved in counter-recruiting, but they have great difficulty getting into schools," Kershner said. "Districts will just reflexively refuse, but … by allowing recruiters in, schools are creating a public forum, and opposing views are allowed to be present."

New responses to youth-targeted militarism are regularly being developed, Jahnkow said, often using technological advances to "present information in a distilled way." From designing computer games in the 1980s to developing apps in the 2010s, he and his colleagues in the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY) are constantly tracking the best ways to inform students.

Students and Veterans as Powerful Voices

Throughout the decades, word-of-mouth has continued to be a crucial way to spread the word about the realities of recruitment, according to Jahnkow.

"If we stand near schools on the corner handing out leaflets to the kids, they'll bring them into school and start talking about them with their friends," he said. He believes the second most effective messengers for the counter-recruitment movement are students themselves, especially those supported by organizations like NNOMY, BAY-Peace or Project YANO, with whose help San Diego students effectively organized to rid their schools of the JROTC program.

But the most powerful voice is that of military veterans, Jahnkow emphasized. "Veterans expose contradictions," he said. "When we get students to question what they're told about the military, to think critically, we're helping them to evolve."

In *Counter-Recruitment*, Kershner interviews a veteran named Yvette, who "relishes the chance to talk with the military recruiters she meets in schools and to challenge the stories they tell students":

She always introduces herself as a veteran when approaching a recruiter and takes care to be cordial, not confrontational. She shares the pamphlets … photocopied flyers with titles like Know Before You Go and What Every Girl Should Know About the U.S. Military. The response from recruiters varies wildly. "I've had lots of recruiters say, 'Yeah, they need to know that information'," [Yvette said.] "But then a lot of recruiters look at me like I'm the scum of the earth."

This pushback from recruiters, as well as the need to relive painful experiences, can be "an occupational hazard of counter-recruitment" to veterans, who are already prone to post-traumatic stress that can be triggered by confrontations, Kershner said. "If you have war trauma, activism can be very draining."

"In 2009, half of our conference attendees were youth activists," he said. "Youth are not as interested now. Most of the people doing counter-recruitment are older folks, and they've reported difficulty relating to teens. They wish they had more youth and veterans to work with."

June Brumer is one of the "older folks" who has been counter-recruiting for decades, first as a member of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, and currently with Grandmothers Against War. Based in Oakland, she's been visiting classrooms and career fairs with veterans since the 1990s. As grandmothers, it's not too difficult for members of her group to get into schools ("white hair is helpful," she smiled), but it's not the grandmothers who capture the students' attention.

"The veteran who speaks to the kids makes the biggest impact," she said. "The kids want to hear about the veterans' experience, and they want to ask questions … although over the years, the kids' reaction has changed to 'What war?'"

But these days, Brumer said, it's hard to find enough veterans to participate.

Even veterans committed to the cause are often unable to keep up the work, Kershner said. Ever since the so-called "end" of the Iraq war (in quotes because there are still around 3,600 U.S. troops in Iraq on any given day), he said both veteran and youth interest in counter-recruitment has dropped.

Hart Viges, an Iraq veteran in Austin, Texas, spends many of his days talking with high school students about his military experience. He has been doing counter-recruitment work for nearly 10 years and sees it as a major part of the long-term struggle against militarism. He finds the work he does with the direct-outreach group Sustainable Options for Youth to be healing, if also exhausting.

"To me, every action is significant," he said. "It's the slow grind to the long game. Every time I leave a school, there is a feeling of accomplishment that replenishes the soul."

"Plant a Seed, Sow a Harvest"

It's the long game that matters, Jahnkow believes.

"When it comes to planning and strategy, the military is all about that, and when we don't do that, we shoot ourselves in the foot," he said. "The movement does see the big picture, but until many more people who are actively involved in working on various issues pay attention to [long-term strategy], they're going to keep having to put out fires."

He added, "You might be concerned about Palestine, women's right to choose, etc., but if seeds are being planted by the military at this point for people in elementary and high school, you're going to keep having your movement depressed."

The metaphor of planting seeds is a familiar one, Kershner said. "'Plant a seed, sow a harvest' -- this is recruiters' language. Counter-recruiters need to be using this language, too." To be most effective, he said, activists should work with teachers' unions, as individual control over their curriculum is being lost to the Department of Defense and JROTC programs.

The movement also needs to be training the next generation of activists, Kershner asserted. "Veterans, especially members of Iraq Veterans Against the War, can help by sharing their recruitment stories," he said. "Counter-recruiters can reach out to educators' journals and conferences."

He suggested Americans should be concerned about the privacy violations schools flirt with when they mandate ASVAB testing and release of students' scores to recruiters, noting that privacy "isn't just a left-wing issue."

"People aren't aware that recruiters can wander around schools at all times," he said. "No other group has that kind of access, not even college recruiters. And there are documented cases of sexual assault by military recruiters. It really underlines the need for more regulation."

With the military firmly implanted within the educational system, the future looks like a bumpy one for the counter-recruitment movement, unless organizations like BAY-Peace

and are able to find funding and volunteers to continue their work. There's literature to be researched and printed, classrooms to visit, career fairs to attend, school boards and city councils to petition -- all this requires more time, energy and money.

However, counter-recruitment activists aren't giving up anytime soon. Brumer, who's now in her sixth decade of organizing for peace, has some advice for those who are interested in getting involved.

"Bring it down to you, what you can do," she said. "There's a saying in the Talmud: 'If you save one life, you save the world.' So I feel like if I keep one kid out of the military, I've done my job."

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Emily Yates *is a writer in many modes, from songs and poetry to essays and articles. She began writing professionally in 2002, when she enlisted in the US Army as a "journalist" (public affairs specialist), and has been trying to make up for this error in judgment since getting out of the military in 2008. In an effort to use her powers for good rather than evil, she now performs as a comedic/political singer-songwriter and volunteers with Iraq Veterans Against the War and Veterans For Peace.*

Source: http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/36822-bringing-truth-to-the-youth-the-counter-recruitment-movement-then-and-now

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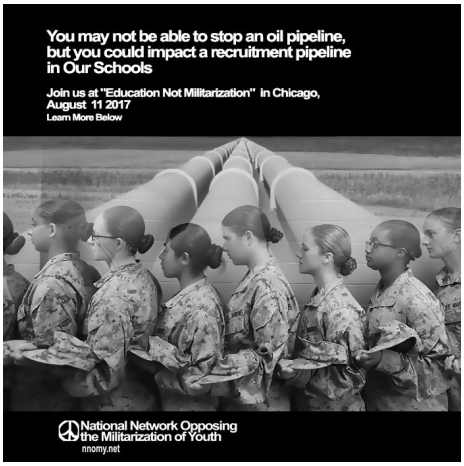
NNOMY at the 2017 VFP Education Not Militarization Convention in Chicago


You may not be able to stop an oil pipeline,
but you could impact a recruitment pipeline
in Our Schools
Join us at "Education Not Militarization" in Chicago,
August 11 2017
Learn More Below
National Network Opposing
the Militarization of Youth
nnomy.net

The National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth will be participating in the 2017 Veterans For Peace National Convention in Chicago August 11th, 2017. Located at the beautiful and historic Palmer House Hotel, veterans and allies will gather to discuss "Education Not Militarization". Registration begins on Wednesday, August 9th and ends on August 13th with a benefit concert by Jackson Browne. The week will be filled with amazing workshops, discussions, community and music.

NNOMY will be presenting a Mini Plenary workshop between 1:30 and 3:00pm in the Spire meeting room on Friday, August 11th 2017 with the theme, Education Not Militarization: The Nuts and Bolts of Pursuing Policy Changes to Counter Recruitment and Demilitarize Schools.

In the Hancock room, at 3:15 to 4:45pm NNOMY will conduct the workshop, Education Not Militarization: Educating students and countering military recruitment inside the schools, with multiple presenters. Please be on time so we can cover all the materials and have time for questions.

Mini-plenary: Education Not Militarization: The Nuts and Bolts of Pursuing Policy Changes to Counter Recruitment and Demilitarize Schools

Description:

Are you troubled by frequent recruiter visits, ASVAB testing or JROTC in your schools? Are you having difficulty gaining equal school access to counter military recruiting? This workshop will cover ways that activists have successfully approached these problems at the policy level. It's been done in some of the largest school districts in the country (e.g., NY City, L.A., Chicago, San Diego), and at the state level in some cases. This policy approach is another powerful tool that can be useful for having an impact beyond individual school visits. The presentation will review successful methods as well as some of the challenges organizers have encountered.

Presenters:

Kate Connell is the coordinator of Truth in Recruitment, a Santa Barbara, CA, student advocacy group. She is a parent, a member of the Santa Barbara Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and associate member of Veterans for Peace. From 1999 - 2003, she worked with Sustainable Options for Youth (then Non-Military Options for Youth) in Austin, Texas. In 2014, after a two-year campaign, the Santa Barbara Unified District School Board passed a policy regulating recruiter access to K-12 students, which applies equally to all recruiter categories - military, college and employers. The policy places strict limits on recruiting activities, including the number of recruiter visits and how they may engage with students.

Rick Jahnkow is the Program Coordinator for the Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO), a counter-recruitment organization based in San Diego County, CA. For over 30 years he has been a full-time researcher and organizer focusing on the issues of military recruiting and militarism in the K-12 school system. He co-authored policies in the San Diego Unified School District that regulate JROTC and recruiting activities, and drafted legislation to stop ASVAB testing for recruitment purposes in California high schools (adopted by the legislature but vetoed by governor). Rick sits on

the steering committee of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY).

Jesús A. Palafox Valdovinos currently serves as the Midwest Regional Administrative Associate with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Prior becoming an Administrative Associate, Jesús was the Truth in Recruitment Program Associate with AFSC, where his work centered around youth and militarism. During tenure with AFSC, Jesús helped to pass a policy on recruitment access in Chicago Public Schools. He is currently working on a Master of Social Work at the University of Chicago.

Workshop: Education Not Militarization: Educating students and countering military recruitment inside the schools

Description:

This workshop will focus on what you can do to reach and educate students at the individual school level. Tactics that will be discussed include leafleting, career fairs, peace clubs, tabling, speakers' bureaus, peace camps and the teen and other cemetery displays, along with new project ideas. Learn from others who have navigated and overcome barriers to becoming a part of the school culture and are now considered welcomed resources inside their local high schools. Troubleshooting with other experienced peace and justice advocates will be part of this workshop.

Each participant will receive a free Back-to-School Kit, a copy of How to Start a Peace Club booklet with ideas for classroom lessons and speakers, and other NNOMY resources.

Presenters:

Libby Frank is a volunteer and co-founder of Northwest Suburban Peace & Education Project; a counter recruitment organization based in the northwest suburbs of Chicago. Since 2004 NWSUBPEP has been tabling at all six high schools in District 214. She also was a volunteer for many years with the Truth in Recruitment project of the Chicago chapter of the American Friends Service Committee. She is also a steering committee of the National Network Opposing Militarization of Youth (NNOMY).

Pat Alviso is on the steering committee of the National Network Opposing Militarization of Youth (NNOMY) and currently leads three high school peace clubs in her local school district, while continuing to build and organize with other peace clubs. She is also the National Coordinator of Military Families Speak Out (MFSO). Alviso's work and story have been covered on CNN, NPR, KPFK, BBC and other national and local media. She continues to speak widely about the true cost of war in classrooms and other venues across the

country, while serving on several local peace group steering committees and is a regular leader and participant weekly vigils and memorial displays.

Michelle Cohen is an adult school teacher from Los Angeles. She joined CAMS, the Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in Our Schools in 2004 to work with like-minded people to oppose military recruiting and related pro-military policies in schools and society. Michelle coordinates Project Great Futures was developed within CAMS as a way to work within the schools to promote alternatives to military service as well as a wide range of positive options for youth after high school. Today Project Great Futures is part of NNOMY, the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth.

And Remember to Visit the NNOMY Table at the Convention to pick up our brochure and visit with us to learn more about countering the militarization of our youth in their schools.

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Dismantling the School-to-Soldier Pipeline

An Interview with Nancy Cruz, Barbara Harris, Rick Jahnkow, and Seth Kershner | ***Originally Published in Jacobin Magazine on October 18, 2019***

SK
The National Defense Act of 1916 created the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (rotc), which operates at the university level, along with Junior rotc, which operates at the high school level. At first, JROTC was kind of like rotc's unwanted stepchild. There were only a couple hundred JROTC units across the country until the mid-1960s.

The program really started to expand in earnest once the draft ended in 1973. Between 1971 and 1974, enrollment in Army JROTC increased by 21 percent, Air Force JROTC increased by 50 percent, and Navy JROTC increased by more than 100 percent. High

schools became the answer to the Pentagon's manpower problems.

BH
Anyone under the age of eighteen should not be recruited or be part of the military system. I believe this is a United Nations protocol, and in my view the United States doesn't follow it.

SK
Resistance to military influence in education goes way back in the United States — even as far back as John Dewey, the philosopher celebrated as the father of progressive education, who was very involved in efforts to resist JROTC in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1917, at their national convention in St Louis, the Socialist Party called for "consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools," and the party's 1962 platform objected to rotc as "military conditioning inappropriate to education in a democracy."

The term "counter-recruitment" was first coined in '72 or '73. Mostly, it was people from historic peace churches — Quakers and Mennonites — who were involved in those years, as well as people who wanted to continue their involvement in peace work following the end of the draft and the drawdown of hostilities in Vietnam.

RJ
During the Vietnam War, our analysis of militarism's impact was fairly limited. Later on, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, some of us who had been around during the Vietnam War began to realize we needed a much broader analysis. We had to look beyond the impact of militarism on individuals and instead look at its impact on whole communities. This meant we had to look at where military recruiters are most present — schools in working-class neighborhoods.

SK
The Pentagon's own research shows that, while JROTC doesn't really improve academic outcomes, it works well as a turnstile for the armed forces. It's obvious why the program is so strongly supported by the Pentagon: about 40 percent of students who spend at least three years in JROTC go into the military after graduation.

RJ
Instead of the legal draft we fought against during the Vietnam War, we started looking at the "poverty draft": people being pushed into the military by their economic and social status. We realized pretty quickly that the poverty draft needed to be addressed differently than the legal draft. We couldn't just go out and moralize about participation in war. We needed to actually offer something as an alternative to young people.

NC

Yes, the issue of school militarism is about access, about enabling youth to attend college or enter good, nonmilitary jobs. At Project YANO, we educate folks about training opportunities in skills such as plumbing — skills that can lead to union jobs. That's a big part of my work now: to help people understand that trade unions also offer benefits. You don't have to go join the military for that. You can be a plumber or a steelworker or an electrician.

BH
In the early 2010s, a lot of new recruiting centers were opening up in underserved neighborhoods in New York City. We demonstrated in front of those little recruiting centers with Veterans for Peace. Eventually, the armed forces got the numbers they wanted, so they packed up and closed their doors.

I have given public testimony at New York City Council Department of Education meetings lobbying for the elimination of the $1.5–1.6 million tax levy allocated for JROTC in the New York City education budget. More recently, I've met with New York City teachers, now members of the Retired Teachers Chapter of the United Federation of Teachers, who are concerned about the fact that JROTC instructors aren't certified to teach in New York City public high schools, the cost of the program, the curriculum (which was developed by the Pentagon), and the display of rifles.

NC
I began to do counter-recruiting work in 2007, when I was in high school. I went to Mission Bay High School in San Diego. The military had a big presence at our school, doing regular recruitment. About 73 percent of the folks at Mission Bay were on free or reduced lunch. It was a predominantly working-class school. The school was predominantly people of color: about 63 percent of students identified as Hispanic, while only about 15 or 16 percent were white. Right before my senior year, the incoming principal reduced support for college preparatory and honors courses, and she brought in the JROTC program.

We took it very personally. I saw it as a personal challenge. I felt we were backtracking on a commitment, made in a previous year, that everyone should have the ability to go to college if that's what they want to do. Here were these authority figures — administrators! — trying to decide what my future was going to be. A lot of students had a defiant attitude about that.

We leafleted during an open house to inform parents, and we were asked to leave the campus. We were kicked out. We also organized walkouts to bring attention to the military presence. Once, the vice principal followed us in a school police car, trying to intimidate people to leave the walkout and go back to school. But we still marched over to a recruitment station and vocalized our message: we didn't want a military presence or recruiters on our campus.

Ultimately, we organized a boycott of the JROTC class because there was a requirement

that JROTC had to maintain enrollment of more than one hundred students or 10 percent of the student body. If they fell below that threshold for two consecutive years, they would lose federal funding, and the program would have to close. At Mission Bay, we made sure their enrollment numbers were low for two consecutive years. Mission Bay no longer has a JROTC program.

RJ
It's worth pointing out that, in this case, parents and students had to pressure the principal at that school to follow the law. The principal wanted to keep the program in place, despite it not meeting the minimum enrollment levels.

NC
Then there was the conversation about putting in the shooting range. At Mission Bay, there wasn't enough classroom space to begin with — but they wanted to break down a wall in the school to turn two classrooms into a shooting range. We chose to take on the shooting range issue because it was very tangible. Our goal was to remove all the shooting ranges from the San Diego Unified School District — not just stop the creation of a new one at Mission Bay.

Many parents didn't even know about the shooting ranges or marksmanship classes. We were able to get a lot of community members to come out in support. We were able to get media attention. Community groups sponsored buses to get students to school board meetings. It was very important that students were part of the decision-making at the school board level.

Ultimately, we were successful in getting rid of the shooting ranges at eleven schools in the San Diego Unified School District, after a two-year battle. They were all removed in 2009.

SK
It's nearly impossible to dislodge an existing JROTC unit through a public campaign demanding its removal. Student boycotts, like the story Nancy told about Mission Bay High School, are really the most promising approach for forcing JROTC units to close down that we've seen in the past twenty or thirty years.

The War on Terror has made organizing against JROTC more difficult. There are units at roughly 3,400 high schools today, where fourteen- to seventeen-year-old students suit up, perform drills, and take classes under military officers. And there's room to grow: in 2009, Congress approved the potential for increasing the program to 3,700 units. The various branches just haven't set aside the funds to pull that off yet.

People are starting to realize that JROTC is saturating urban areas. One in every four public high schools in an urban area has a JROTC unit. In rural areas, it's one in twenty. The rand Corporation, a major think tank, released a report in 2017 recommending that JROTC turn

its focus to smaller high schools in rural areas. That could mean they're headed to states that haven't had a big JROTC presence before. Today, the majority of JROTC units are in the South — in South Carolina, for example, there are units at about 60 percent of high schools.

BH
Another concern is the "Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery" (ASVAB) test. The Department of Defense administers the test in schools throughout the country. Results of the test provide recruiters with personal and academic data for profiling and potential outreach to students. This information allows them to decide if they want to pursue a particular young person for recruitment. If a student's profile meets a recruiter's needs, he or she is often contacted by letter or phone call. Often, parents are completely unprepared to confront that kind of attention directed at their child from a recruiter. It's very troubling.

The fact that each student's ASVAB data automatically goes to the Department of Defense for profiling and recruiting is unacceptable. We want to change this procedure throughout New York State. New York City implemented a revised ASVAB directive in 2016 requiring the parent and student to sign and return an opt-in form, giving permission for ASVAB results to be shared with the military. We are working on implementing a similar ASVAB directive in the entire state, to ensure that families are in charge of their ASVAB data.

About eight years ago, I reached out to almost every guidance counselor in the state, asking what they knew about the ASVAB. Mostly, they couldn't care less, which was quite interesting. They had so much on their plates. Progress was slow with them. And, of course, many of them have principals who are ex-military. I was surprised to find out how many retired military officers become high school principals.

SK
I think activists can be successful at preventing new JROTC units, but, of course, they have to know when and where new units are being proposed. In the 1990s, activists used Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to get lists of schools that had been targeted for possible new JROTC units. We need to do the same thing today. That will give us a road map.

There are other weaknesses, too, like enrollment. To get federal funding, schools that have JROTC units have to keep enrollment above a certain minimum. Usually, no one notices when they fall below that minimum, so they carry on, in violation of the law. But, again, you can use FOIA to figure out enrollments at various schools, identify which units are under-enrolled, and push to get those eliminated.

RJ
The military's involvement in public schools is not just for the purpose of recruiting bodies. It's for recruiting minds as well.

The military's values are being taught in schools across the country. That should scare anybody in this country who is dedicated to working for progressive social change. Those kinds of activities undermine our ability to mobilize people later on in life. That's the greater danger than just having recruiters go to schools to fulfill enlistment quotas. It's something we all have to be afraid of.

More resources on JROTC and school recruitment can be found at the website of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth: www.nnomy.org.

Source: https://www.jacobinmag.com/2019/08/dismantling-the-school-to-soldier-pipeline

###

Counter-Recruitment in the Time of Covid

Kate Connell / Fred Nadis / Antiwar.com / español - In 2016-17, the U.S. Army visited Santa Maria High School and nearby Pioneer Valley High School in California over 80 times. The Marines visited Ernest Righetti High School in Santa Maria over 60 times that year. One Santa Maria alumnus commented, "It's as if they, the recruiters, are on staff." A parent of a high school student at Pioneer Valley commented, "I consider recruiters on campus talking to 14 year olds as "grooming" young people to be more open to recruitment in their senior year. I want my daughter to have more access to college recruiters and for our schools to promote peace and nonviolent solutions to conflict."

This is a sample of what high schools, particularly in rural areas, experience nationwide, and the difficulty of confronting the presence of military recruiters on campus. While our nonprofit counter-recruitment group, Truth in Recruitment, based in Santa Barbara, California, views such military access as beyond excessive, as far as the military is concerned, now that the pandemic has closed campuses, those were the good old days. The Air Force's Recruiting Service Commander, Maj. Gen. Edward Thomas Jr., commented to a journalist at Military.com, that the Covid-19 pandemic and high school shutdowns nationwide have made recruiting more difficult than previously.

Thomas stated that in-person recruiting at high schools was the highest yield way to recruit teenagers. “Studies that we’ve done show that, with face-to-face recruiting, when somebody is actually able to talk to a living, breathing, sharp Air Force [noncommissioned officer] out there, we can convert what we call leads to recruits at about an 8:1 ratio,” he said. “When we do this virtually and digitally, it’s about a 30:1 ratio.” With closed recruiting stations, no sporting events to sponsor or appear at, no hallways to walk, no coaches and teachers to groom, no high schools to show up at with trailers loaded with militarized video games, recruiters have shifted to social media to find likely students.

Yet the school shutdowns, combined with the economic uncertainty during the pandemic, have only made vulnerable populations more likely to enlist. The military also is aware of this. An AP reporter noted in June that in periods of high unemployment, the military becomes a more enticing option to teens from impoverished families.

This is apparent from our work. Truth in Recruitment has been working to reduce recruiter access to students in Santa Maria high schools where the demographics on some campuses are 85% Latinx students, many from immigrant farmworkers working in the fields. Nevertheless, the Santa Maria Joint Union High School District (SMJUHSD) was pleased to report in June 2020 that sixty students from all the area high schools had decided to enlist.

As a group dedicated to regulating the presence of military recruiters on campuses, and their access to students’ private information, we are seeing the consequences of both the pandemic and recruiters’ aggressive social media campaigns. Under the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) of 2001, high schools that receive federal funds must allow recruiters to have the same access to students as employers and colleges. This law is often cited when school districts say that they cannot regulate recruiter access to their students and schools. But the key word in the law, which shows what is possible, is the word "same." As long as school policies apply the same regulations to all types of recruiters, districts can implement policies that regulate recruiter access. Many school districts across the country have passed policies regulating recruiter access, including Austin, Texas, Oakland, California, the San Diego Unified School District, and the Santa Barbara Unified School District, where Truth in Recruitment is based.

According to federal law, while districts are required to provide student names, addresses, and parents’ phone number, families have the right to "opt out" to prevent schools from releasing to the military further information about their children. However, now that teens have their own phones, recruiters have direct access to them – following them on social media, texting and emailing them privately – and have access to their friends in the process. Because of this, parental oversight is circumvented and a family’s privacy rights are ignored. Recruiters not only gain access to student’s through their phones, but through ‘surveys’ and sign up sheets, where they ask questions such as "citizenship status?" and other confidential information.

Recruiters online tactics can be dubious. For one example, *The Nation* reported that on July 15, 2020,the Army's Esports team on Twitch advertised a fake giveaway foran Xbox Elite Series 2 controller, valued at more than $200.When clicked, animated giveaway advertisementsin the Army's Twitch stream chat boxes led users to a recruiting web form with no mention of any giveaway.

Recent events reveal that building our military forces does not strengthen our country's security. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that the biggest threats to our nation cannot be stopped with military methods. It has also shown the risks that troops face from working and living close together, making them vulnerable to this deadly disease. In WW1, more troops died from disease than in combat.

The police killings of unarmed black people have also shown the ineffectiveness of force to ensure the safety of our communities. A young black woman on the news testified that she had considered joining the police force but changed her mind after seeing the systemic abuse of police departments, both in the killing of George Floyd and the way police brutalized peaceful protesters. Even more pointedly, the death of US Army SPC Vanessa Guillen, murdered by a fellow soldier at Ford Hood in Texas, after first being sexually harassed by an officer, indicates the unstated dangers that recruits can face.

How can those of us who are opposed to the current militarization of society in general and high schools in particular curtail the military's push to meet recruitment "quotas?"

Step by step.

Because of the pandemic, TIR has had to adjust strategies and procedures; after winning the right, with help from the ACLU So Cal affiliate, in 2019 to table at high school events in Santa Maria – we are now faced with school closures. So instead, we have been conducting meetings, events and presentations remotely, utilizing services like Zoom. In fall of 2020, we met with the SMJUHSD and the new Superintendent in Santa Maria to establish a working relationship and so progress in our goals.

Throughout the pandemic, Truth in Recruitment has given online presentations to students and local community groups. The focus has been on the stakes of military careers and our campaign to regulate recruiters' access to students. On social media, we have regularly posted about military recruiting tactics – in order to give students a more balanced view of what life in the military can mean and to recognize that they can choose nonmilitary career options. The presence of military recruiters on high schools does not serve an educational purpose. Our goal is to build student and family awareness so they can make educated choices about their future.

Kate Connell is the director of Truth in Recruitment and the parent of two students who attended Santa Barbara schools. She is a member of the Religious Society of Friends, Quakers. Along with parents, students, veterans, and other community members, she

successfully led the effort to implement a policy regulating recruiters in the Santa Barbara Unified School District.

Fred Nadis is an author and editor based in Santa Barbara, who volunteers as a grant writer for Truth in Recruitment.

Truth in Recruitment (TIR) is a project of the Santa Barbara Friends (Quaker) Meeting, a 501(c)3 nonprofit. TIR's goal is to educate students, families, and school districts about alternatives to military careers, inform families of their children's privacy rights, and advocate for policies regulating recruiter presence on campuses.

Source: https://original.antiwar.com/Kate_Connell/2020/09/28/counter-recruitment-in-the-time-of-covid/

###

Los Angeles High School Peace Clubs Gather for Armistice Day Commemoration

VETERANS DAY SINCE 1954
Reclaim Armistice Day!
YOUTH SKITS, BOOTHS, DRAWINGS, PRIZES, SPEAKERS, LIVE MUSIC, CRAFTS, FOOD DISTRIBUTION, PEACE MARTYRS & TEEN MEMORIAL
WAR IS OVER
Free & Open to the Public
Supported by:
Cabrillo, Tracy, Fairfax & POLA HS students, Philippine-US Solidarity Organization (PUSO), The Justice & Peace Committee of the South Coast Interfaith Council, Veterans for Peace, Military Families Speak Out, Long Beach Area Peace Network, Orange County Peace Coalition, and San Pedro Neighbors for Peace and Justice
Friday
Nov 11th
10:30 am - 1:00pm
11:00 am - Official Ringing of 11 Bells
Admiral Kidd Park
2125 Santa Fe Ave.
Long Beach, CA 90810
For More Information:
Pat Alviso: 562-533-5035 or mfsooc@earthlink.net
Dale Whitney hirev333@earthlink.net

What is Armistice Day? After World War I ended, nations mourned their dead and called for an end to all wars. Armistice, (a peace treaty), was signed, and bells tolled to celebrate the end of war. Thus, Nov. 11 th became Armistice Day, "a day to be dedicated to the cause of world peace and to be thereafter celebrated." In 1954, Congress decided to rebrand November 11 as Veterans Day. To this day churches in Europe still ring their bells 11 times at 11 am on the 11 th day of the 11 th month to commemorate Armistice Day- a day dedicated to peace.

Gary Ghirardi / NNOMY - 11/11/2022 / Multiple Peace groups / Long Beach California - On Veterans Day, 2022, The Justice & Peace Committee of the South Coast Interfaith Council convened the "*Reclaim Armistice Day!*" event at Admiral Kidd Park in Long Beach California. The national groups that supported this event were the Veterans for Peace, and Military Families Speak Out. The regional groups supporting this half-day long activity included the Philippines - U.S. Solidarity Organization (PUSO) and the students from peace clubs that are part of the Peace Club Alliance which is located in Los Angeles County, California. The students that participated were from Cabrillo, Tracy, Fairfax, and the Port of Los Angeles (POLA) High Schools.

The *Reclaim Armistice Day!* gathering included youth theatrical skits designed with an anti-war message with students assuming the adult and student roles of what goes on with military recruiters in their high schools advocating to get youth to join into military service.

Other activities included drawings for prizes, live music, crafts, food distribution and the re-installation of the traveling "*Teen Memorial"* of soldiers who died while still not fully reaching the age of adulthood in combat in the military.

Also speakers presented from various community peace groups including the Philippine - US Solidarity Organization (PUSO), Veterans for Peace Los Angeles, Military Families Speak Out (MFSO), the Orange County Peace Coalition, Long Beach Area Peace Network and the San Pedro Neighbors of Peace and Justice.

Groups that presented informational tables with literature about the risks of military service and alternatives included Veterans for Peace, Military Families Speak Out, The Poor People's Campaign, Orange County Peace Coalition, the Democratic Socialists of America Long Beach branch, and the counter recruitment wheel of the Peace Club Alliance of the ABC Unified School District,

A reenactment of the ringing of eleven bells at 11am Pacific Time on the 11th of November, on the eleventh month of the year was performed as a rite of recognition of the original Armistice made in 1918 to herald the ending of hostilities from the First World War.

Los Angeles County Engaging Students in Peace Advocacy Learning

Those students representing participating LA County schools characterized the demographic most targeted by military recruiters in our public schools: Students represented in the event reflected communities of color including Black, Asian, and Latinx students. This grouping also reflected the ethnic and economic composition of those communities close to the event location in Long Beach and the Port of Los Angeles that are primarily working class.

The concept and existence of an organized coalition of high school peace clubs also reflected upon the progressive nature of Los Angeles school districts where student clubs organized for advocating for anti war issues and peace could be tolerated. It is more striking that the ABC school district is tolerant of these practices within communities that are put under duress by policies like the "Every Child Succeeds" legislation that forces military recruiter access upon schools that accept federal educational aid from the government. Witnessing an event like *Reclaim Armistice Day* in Los Angeles County brings to mind an expanded question of whether this type of coalition of students and teachers,

with supporting peace organizational support, can be duplicated in other regions of the United States.

With the post-pandemic landscape for counter-recruitment activism highly diminished by the multi-year closure of schools to outside groups, the opportunity for on-campus advocacy by student based peace clubs to provide counter-recruitment narratives is all the more important as CR groups reassess and negotiate uncertain access to return to schools going forward in the months ahead while military recruiters return to campuses nationwide.

For student based CR advocacy to maintain interest for participating students, it is likely that the combination of attractive activities for participation will be key to maintaining student interest including the integration of the arts and social activities. Theater, of the agitprop variety, would be well purposed for social justice advocacy as was witnessed in this event.

Counter-recruitment Activism Facing Challenges Ahead to Reach Students

To develop relationships with schools, the role for community based counter-recruitment activism will need to expand to the challenges ahead including developing closer associations with teachers groups and unions to win access to students and educators that are sympathetic to a peace narrative and wish a non-violent outcome for their students once they move ahead into their lives. The importance of nurturing student to student consciousness raising on issues of militarism in and around their lives is essential to a peace movement surviving into the future.

A goal for the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth (NNOMY) in the months ahead will be to ask national and regional peace and human rights groups to include counter-recruitment and/or Truth in Recruitment resources on their websites to increase the public recognition of the enormous investment that the Department of Defense is making in our public schools to foster not only military recruitment but to ensure the normalization of cultural militarism inside young minds. NNOMY's goal must include making inroads into more schools in other cities and states. Considering the conservative political efforts to take over school boards nationally, the challenge and the importance of such an effort is all the more important.

Part of the counter-remedy for this type of militarized indoctrination are projects and programs to educate and advocate for peace and peaceful solutions for young people's lives and outlooks in one of the most militarized cultures in contemporary history.

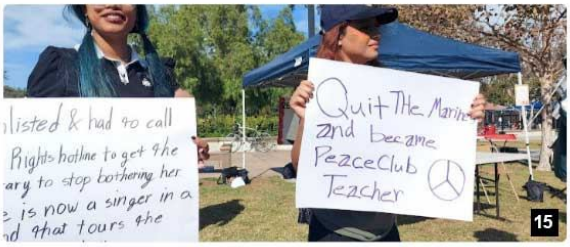
Can Counter-recruitment organizing meet this challenge?

Gary Ghirardi
NNOMY Office

1: Peace Martyrs installation
2: Reclaim Armistice Day main stage
3: Military Families Speak Out table
4: Peace Club Alliance information table & Game Wheel with questions about military enlistment

5: Veterans for Peace Information Table
6: Poor Peoples Campaign Information Table

7: Pat Alviso, MFSO & Peace Club Community Sponsor
8: Eva Rodriguez. Tracy HS Peace Club President
9: Zenith Gurung, Peace Club Student making a Speech
10: Harold Sutherland, South Coast Interfaith Council Board Representative
11: Chris Venn, Peace ClubCommunity Sponsor with Fairfax HS Students



12: Visitors and Help are treated to free pizza
13: Jeff Jacobs, Drama teacher with student Juan Santoyo from Cabrillo High SchoolShort
14: Jennifer Benitez, PUSO Community Organizer
15: Students re-enact a scene at a high school where there are military recruiters on campus

16: Louis Raprager, Veterans for Peace Board member shares his story in veteran trauma | Video
17: Counter recruitment brochures from NNOMY.org

18: Stop Deporting US Veterans information Table
19: Aia White-Podue and Nick Podue attract a crowd at the Luna Rising Studios table
20: Snacks and Current events
21: Marshalll Blesofsky address the audience, Representing the Long Beach Area Peace Network
22: Antonio Palacios Veterans for Peace LA educates us on military enlistment and LGBTQI issues
23: Jan Victor Andasan East Yard Communities for Environmental Justice Organizer talks about the work needed to improve air quality around the port of LB

24: Wayne Marchyshyn President of Veterans for Peace Chapter 110 discusses the meaning of Armistice Day | Video
25: Zenith, Abraham and Del play the roles of Filipino students considering enlisting in the military | Rachel Bruhnke Codepink & POLA Peace & Planet Club Teacher center rear
26: Marlene Alvarado, videographer representing Democratic Socialist of American, Long Beach Chapter
27: Rudy Zaragoza, Cal State Fullerton musician entertains the crowd

28: Students from Tracy, Fairfax, Cabrillo, POLA and McBride reflect on the true cost of war as they set up the Teen Memorial Display
29: The Teen Memorial Installation

###

JROTC Is Preying on Poor Students

A recent string of revelations about abuses by the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps presents an opportunity to rein in the military's presence and power in public schools.

01.08.2023 / Seth Kershner Scott Harding / Jacobin - The Pentagon's signature program for instilling military values in American schools, the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC), has a long history dating to 1916. But it hasn't endured such bad press since the 1970s. In several damning articles, the New York Times revealed the structure of what's wrong with high school military training: instructors who use their positions to prey on teenage girls, in-school shooting ranges built with grants from the National Rifle Association, and mandatory enrollment in some of the nation's largest school districts — all abetted by school officials who fail to adequately monitor a program of such dubious educational value that many instructors lack a college degree.

These revelations have vindicated those in the "counter-recruitment" movement who for years warned of a largely unsupervised program taught by retired military officers. It also raises serious questions about why military training programs have any place in US public high schools.

The Pentagon spends around $400 million annually to provide training in military drill and "leadership" through the JROTC in more than 3,500 high schools, to approximately five hundred thousand students. Despite this presence, the program seems to operate on the fringes, with school officials exercising scant oversight even as instructors take their young "cadets" on extended travel to military bases and interschool competitions. Such conditions foster an environment rife with potential abuse.

The Times identified at least thirty-three JROTC instructors who had been criminally charged with sexual misconduct with their students, and found evidence that numerous other instructors were accused but never charged. According to the education outlet Chalkbeat, Chicago's head of school military instruction quietly resigned last summer, three years after failing to inform officials of suspected sexual abuse by a JROTC instructor who was later arrested.

A crucial part of JROTC's carefully crafted image is its voluntary nature: students are said to willingly sign up simply because they like what the program offers. Thus, the news that thousands

of students were forced to take military courses is especially troubling. Chicago Public Schools (CPS) boast of having the country's largest JROTC program, with more than 7,800 teenage "cadets" in thirty-seven high schools and six school military academies. But according to a 2022 CPS inspector general's report, Chicago's success with military education is based on compulsion and coercion.

Indeed, the inspector general found that over the past two years, nearly all ninth graders at ten CPS high schools were automatically enrolled in JROTC, which requires them to dress in military uniforms weekly and practice marching in drills. Procedures for opting out of the program were not clearly communicated with students or their parents and in some cases were nonexistent.

Chicago is only the tip of the iceberg. As the Times revealed in December, "dozens of schools have made the program mandatory or steered more than 75 percent of students in a single grade into the classes, including schools in Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Oklahoma City, and Mobile, [Alabama]." Most of those schools had a large proportion of non-white students from lower-income households.

These investigations prompted one of the first congressional inquiries into JROTC in recent years. In Chicago, CPS announced it will end automatic enrollment in the program and now require schools to issue parental consent forms for JROTC participants. These are welcome changes. But fundamental questions about the program remain: What is its real purpose? How are JROTC instructors screened for their influential positions? Why is the United States virtually alone in the Western world in mixing military instruction with public education?

A Turnstile for the Military

For decades, those raising these questions have largely been the parents, teachers, and veterans who comprise the counter-recruitment movement. Given the absence of meaningful oversight of military personnel in public education settings, it is counter-recruiters who have monitored the military's presence in schools. While their activism primarily involves visiting high schools to speak with students about alternatives to military service, they have successfully lobbied to restrict recruiters' access to students. Counter-recruiters also work with their allies in teachers' unions, parent-teacher associations, and civil liberties organizations to prevent new JROTC units from being established in local schools.

Though little known, these nationwide efforts represent a significant challenge to the consensus view about military instruction in high schools. Proponents assert that JROTC is an undeniable good, taking teens from troubled backgrounds and molding them into responsible, civic-minded citizens. As former Chicago mayor Richard M. Daley boasted, JROTC "provides students with the order and discipline that is too often lacking at home. It teaches them time management, responsibility, goal setting, and teamwork, and it builds leadership and self-confidence." Other endorsements are even more gushing. Colonel Andrew Morgado, who formerly oversaw JROTC programs in much of the Midwest, suggested that JROTC "may be one of the best leadership development and citizenship-focused programs we have."

These are valid aspirations and express the vision of JROTC, but the evidence demonstrates

something much different. At least sixteen states do not require JROTC instructors to have a teaching certification, and many states do not expect instructors to have a college degree — facts which challenge the program's educational value. The sexual exploitation of minors — which mirrors conditions facing women in the military — raises fundamental concerns about the safety of students enrolled in the program.

While JROTC may foster leadership development for some, what the program undeniably does well is enable military recruitment in high schools. In their public statements, military officials claim that JROTC does not engage in recruiting. But when appearing before Congress, they sing a different tune.

Vice Admiral Norbert Ryan, Chief of Naval Personnel, proudly told the Senate Armed Services Committee in 2002 that approximately 40 percent of those who enrolled in Naval JROTC pursued a career in the military after graduation. "Although predominantly a citizenship program," he added, "JROTC presents a positive presence in schools and in the public, thereby enhancing Navy recruiting efforts." In 2019 congressional testimony, Secretary of the Army Mark Esper admitted that JROTC "tends to . . . encourage kids to join the military at higher rates than anywhere else."

In the most rigorous study of the topic, economists at the Naval Postgraduate School found that JROTC so effectively serves as a turnstile for the military that it is best understood as a form of vocational training. The only difference between JROTC and classes like automotive mechanics, they noted, is that "JROTC prepares students for careers in the military." Thus, while not technically recruiting youth into the military, the program is important to the military's operations.

Given recent revelations, educators should reassess their relationship with JROTC, and military officials should come clean about the purpose of this program. In their communication with parents, and their training for high school principals, JROTC leaders should acknowledge what their program is designed to do: prepare America's children for military service.

Critically, students in urban areas — where JROTC is present in one out of four high schools — often lack other career options or the opportunity to engage with different perspectives about the use of military force. To correct this imbalance, educators should be given the latitude to bring in guest speakers and develop curriculum that explores the pros and cons of military service. And if the program is to remain in US public schools, then JROTC should be an elective. No student should be forced to don a military uniform against their will.

Just as important, the Left needs to reclaim its legacy of leading movements to resist school militarism. Working at the grassroots with limited resources, a small number of counter-recruitment activists have won key changes in JROTC practices and school recruitment activities since the late 1970s. The student-led Education Not Arms Coalition (ENAC) offers an instructive example. In the early 2010s, students at San Diego's Mission Bay High School built a campaign around a race and class analysis, noting how a college preparatory program serving mostly Latino students had been forced to surrender classroom space to the Marine Corps JROTC program. Student activists and their adult allies effectively "un-cooled" the JROTC, leading to such a sharp drop in enrollment that by 2012 school administrators opted to dismantle the Marine Corps program.

While ENAC's campaign was notable, our research suggests that counter-recruiters often feel

isolated and need more support from parents, educators, and progressive activists. With JROTC on the defensive as never before, fundamental reforms of the program can help challenge the growing militarization of public schools.

Source: https://jacobin.com/2023/01/jrotc-high-school-abuse-counter-recruitment-movement

###

Looking back at Twenty Years of NNOMY

July 13, 2024 / Staff / NNOMY - June 27th, 2024 marks the founding of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth stemming from the formation of the network at the national counter-recruitment organizing conference held June 25-27, 2004 named Stopping War Where It Begins: Strengthening the Movement Opposing the Militarization of Youth in Philadelphia. (1)

Through the many cultural shifts and political machinations of the United Sates domestic and foreign policy, the prospects and opportunities for NNOMY have experienced many ebbs and flows.

As the next period ahead unravels, like the presidential election debacle we now see unfolding five month before the next election, the time ahead for NNOMY, and the peace activist community in general seems uncertain and certainly demoralizing with, now two active proxy wars that the current Biden Administration has entrenched the country in.

With what is being articulated by the Pentagon and its Command Structure, a potential war is looming in Asia for the USA with China over control of the China Sea, and even Polar Ice shipping routes for Russia of Petrochemicals product shipments to Asia being contested by the US State Department, allowing circumvention of sanctions imposed upon it by the US and its G7 coalition of countries, the chances that American youth may become drawn into direct military conflicts that they have little understanding of or little interest to get involved in a war over, are greater than ever.

Additionally, the Southern Command leadership has openly articulated their intention to control the resource extraction of the American Continent as their own without the presence of other international powers present at the table. It is the Monroe Doctrine redux. (2)

Looking back at another time of resurgent US Militarism during the Bush Administration's Iraq war in response to a proven false narrative imposed upon the 9/11 terrorism, NNOMY experienced the

height of counter recruitment activism as peace groups correctly intervened into the proceedings of US military recruitment at the high school level, to stem the flow of bodies into a series of unnecessary illegal wars for regime change

Below as a testament and recognition of their efforts are listed the groups on this twentieth anniversary of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth and their counter-recruitment pages:

CITY	ACTIVIST	ORGANIZATION	STATE	WEBSITE (ARCHIVED FROM 2005)
Alachua	Shawna Doran	Alachua County Green Party	Florida	http://alachuagreens.weebly.com
Albuquerque	Sue	Another Side (An educational project of the Albuquerque Center for Peace and Justice)	New Mexico	http://www.stopthewarmachine.org
Americus	Sanders Thornburgh	Koinonia	Georgia	http://www.koinoniapartners.org
Ann Arbor	Bob Krzewinski	Veterans for Peace - Chapter 93	Michigan	http://www.vfp93.org
Arcata	Dave Meserve	North Coast United to Protect Youth	California	http://www.stoprecruitingkids.org
Arlington Heights	Libby Frank	Northwest Suburban Peace & Education Project	Illinois	http://www.nwsubpep.org
Athens	John Howell	Appalachian Peace and Justice Network	Ohio	http://www.apjn.org
Atlanta	Michael Burke	Coalition for Student Career Alternatives	Georgia	http://www.scapatl.org
Atlanta	Michael J. Burke	Veterans for Truth in Military Recruiting	Georgia	http://www.safepassagenetwork.org
Austin	Charlie Jackson	Texans for Peace	Texas	http://www.texansforpeace.org
Austin	Susan Van Haitsma / Hart Viges	Sustainable Options for Youth	Texas	http://www.peaceoptions.blogspot.com
Bayside	Carl Stancil - Rob Hepburn	Veterans for Peace Chapter 56 (Humboldt Bay)	California	http://www.vfp56.org
Belle Mead	Robert Colby-Witanek	NJ Youth United Against War and Imperialism	New Jersey	http://NJYouthUnited.org
Bellingham	Janet Marino	Whatcom Peace & Justice Center	Washington	http://www.whatcompjc.org
Berkeley	Alan Senauke	Buddhist Peace Fellowship	California	http://www.bpf.org

Berkely	Ian Slattery	Soldiers of Conscience (documentary video resources)	California	http://www.soldiers-themovie.com
Bethesda	Pat Elder	Peace Action Montgomery	Maryland	http://www.peaceactionmc.org
Bethlehem	Peter Simeon Bond	LEPOCO	Pennsylvania	http://www.lepoco.org
Birmingham	Ashley Reynolds	Equal Access Alabama	Alabama	https://nnomy.org /equal-access
Boca Raton	Mike Budd	The Truth Project	Florida	http://www.truthproject.info
Boise	Liz Paul	Idaho Peace Coalition	Idaho	http://www.peacecoalition.us/idaho
Boomer	Sally Ferrell	Alternative to Military/NC Peace Action	North Carolina	http://www.ncpeaceaction.org
Brooklyn	David Tykulsker	Brooklyn for Peace	New York	http://www.brooklynpeace.org
Burlington	Jen Berger	Peace & Justice Center	Vermont	http://www.pjcvt.org
Cambridge	Angela Kelly	Massachusetts Peace Action	Massachusetts	http://www.masspeaceaction.org
Cambridge	Bill Sweet	UJP Counter-recruitment Coalition	Massachusetts	http://www.justicewithpeace.org
Chapel Hill	Curt Torell and Pam Schwingel	NC Choices for Youth	North Carolina	http://www.ncchoicesforyouth.org
Chicago	Ame Meyers	Chicago Coalition Opposed to Militarization of Youth (CCOMY)	Illinois	http://www.ccomy.org
Chicago	Arny Steiber	Veterans for Peace - Chicago	Illinois	http://www.chicagovfp.org
Chicago	Darlene Gramigna	American Friends Service Committee- Chicago	Illinois	http://afsc.org/office/chicago-il
Cincinnati	Kristen Barker	Intercommunity Justice and Peace Center	Ohio	http://ijpc-cincinnati.org/
Claremont	Gerald Haynes	Alternative Ideas to Military Service	California	https://claremont-courier.com/
Colonia	Tim Bigelow	Yap High School	Federated States of Micronesia	https://time.com/archive/6949007/
Columbus	Fred Suter	Historic Peace Churches	Ohio	http://www.livingpeacecob.org/
Columbus OH	Deb Oskin	On Earth Peace		https://www.onearthpeace.org/srk
Corning	Gary McCaslin	Peaceful Gathering	New York	http://www.peacefulgatherings.org/
Corvallis	Rebecca Michelson	Veterans for Peace - Corvallis	Oregon	http://www.vfpcorvallis.org/
DeKalb	Cele Meyer	DeKalb Interfaith Network	Illinois	http://www.dekalbinterfaithnetwork.org/cms/

		for Peace & Justice		
Dorado	Sonia Santiago	Madres contra la Guerra	Puerto Rico	http://madrescontralaguerra.blogspot.com
Duluth	Joel Kilgour	Truth in Recruiting	Minnesota	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Edmond	Daniel Saunders	Military Free Oklahoma	Oklahoma	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Encinitas	Rick Jahnkow	**Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO)**	California	http://projectyano.org
Eugene	Carol Van Houten	Truth In Recruiting (formerly the Committee for Countering Military Recruitment)	Oregon	http://www.calclane.org/1programs/counteringmiltre
Eugene	Gordon Sturrock	Veterans Against Torture	Oregon	http://www.veteransagainsttorture.com/
Fort Collins	Cheryl Distaso	Youth and Militarism - an Affiliate of the Center for Justice Peace and Environment	Colorado	http://www.cjpe.org/youth/index.htm
Fort Myers	Nancy Howell/ Judy Alves	Wage Peace Lee	Florida	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Fort Wayne	Dave Lambert	Fort Wayne Peace Action	Indiana	http://www.fwagitator.org/military.html
Fort Worth	Diane Wood	**Peaceful Vocations**	Texas	http://www.peacefulvocations.org/
Fresno	Dan Yaseen	Central Valley Counter-Recruitment Organization	California	https://www.peacefresno.org
Glendale	Sharon Weisman	Glendale Education/Social Justice Advocates	California	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Grand Rapids	SDS	ACTIVATE (Grand Rapids Michigan)	Michigan	http://www.activategr.org/
Greenbelt	Lucy Duff	Broader Horizons Counter Recruiting Campaign of the Peace & Justice Coalition	Maryland	http://www.justpeace-pgmd.org/
Greenfield	Sher Sweet	Traprock Peace Center	Massachusetts	http://traprock.info/index.shtml
Hidden Valley Lake	Michelle Borzoni	South Lake Democrats Club	California	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Honolulu	Kyle Kajihiro	CHOICES (Committee on Helping Open and Informed Choices in Education and Schools)	Hawaii	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Hood River/Columbia Gorge	Linda Short	Columbia River Fellowship for Peace: Project Full Disclosure	Oregon	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Houston	Bob Henschen	Houston Committee for Youth and Non-Military Opportunities	Texas	http://hpjc.org/event/winningthepeace

Irvine	Eliana Olivarez	Worker Student Alliance	California	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Irvine	Thu-Trang Tran	OC Recruitment Awareness Project	California	http://www.oc-rap.org/
Ithaca	Jim Murphy	NY Veterans Speak Out	New York	http://www.veteransforpeaceny.org/
Joliet	Bill Ruhaak	Pax Christi Will County	Illinois	http://www.paxjoliet.org/justeach/justeach_speaker
Juneau	Amy Paige	Southeast Alaska Truth in Recruiting (SeaTIR)	Alaska	http://vfp-seatir.blogspot.com
Leesburg, VA	Michelle Grise, Don Eaves	Loudoun County Coalition on Recruitment Issues (LCCRI)	Virginia	http://www.loudounforce.org/
Lincoln	Kevin Haake	Alternatives to the Military	Nebraska	http://www.nebraskagreens.org/atm
Linwood	Norm Cohen	Coalition for Peace and Justice	New Jersey	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Los Angeles	Alyse Emdur	Photograph A Recruiter	California	http://www.photographarecruiter.com/
Los Angeles	Arlene Inouye	Coalition for Alternatives to Militarism in our Schools (CAMS)	California	http://www.militaryfreeschools.org/
Los Angeles	Michelle Cohen	Project Great Futures	California	http://projectgreatfutures.nnomy.org
Madison	Fran Weidenhoff	Veterans for Peace-Madison	Wisconsin	http://www.peaceactionwi.org
Madison	Michelle Nightoak	TaME (Truth and Alternatives to Militarism in Education)	Wisconsin	http://www.tamewisconsin.org/
Madison	Todd Dennis	Wisconsin Network for Peace and Justice	Wisconsin	http://www.wnpj.org/
Memphis	George Grider	Mid-South Peace & Justice Center	Tennessee	http://www.midsouthpeace.org/
Middlebury	James Ross	Addison Country Citizens for Alternative to Military Service	Vermont	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Milwaukee	Becky Cooper	Peace Action- Wisconsin	Wisconsin	http://www.peaceactionwi.org/
Minneapolis	Larry Johnson	Veterans for Peace - Chapter 27	Minnesota	http://www.vfpchapter27.org/
Minneapolis/St. Paul	Mary Beaudoin	Women Against Military Madness	Minnesota	http://www.worldwidewamm.org/home.html
Monterey	MacGregor Eddy	Youth Rights Alternatives to Military	California	http://www.peacemonterey.org
Nashville	Joey King	Veterans for Peace Chapter	Tennessee	http://www.veteransforpeace.org/
New Windsor	Bob Gross	On Earth Peace	Maryland	http://www.onearthpeace.org/
New York	Amy Wagner	Ya-Ya Network	New York	http://www.yayanetwork.org/

New York	Barb Harris	Granny Peace Brigade -NYC	New York	www.grannypeacebrigade.org
New York	Debra Sweet	World Can't Wait	New York	http://www.worldcantwait.org/
New York	Erica Braudy	New York Civil Liberties Union	New York	http://www.nyclu.org/milrec
New York	Seth Rader	New York Collective of Radical Educators	New York	http://www.nycore.org/
New York	Stephanie	**We Are Not Your Soldiers**	New York	http://www.wearenotyoursoldiers.org/
Northampton	Jeff Napolitano	American Friends Service Committee (Western MA)	Massachusetts	http://www.afscwm.org/
Norwich	Joanne Sheehan	**War Resisters League/New England Regional Office**	Connecticut	http://www.warresisters.org/chapterprofile?chapters
Oklahoma City	Rena Guay	Oklahoma Center for Conscience and Action	Oklahoma	http://www.centerforconscience.org/
Oakland	Susan Quinlan	Alternatives to War	California	http://www.baypeace.org
Oakland	Susan Quinlan	Bay-Peace: Better Alternatives for Youth	California	http://www.baypeace.org
Oxford	Dan Blazo	UM Constitutionalists	Mississippi	http://umfreedom.com/
Pacific City	Bruce Ryan	Pacific City/Nestucca High	Oregon	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Pacific Palisades	Sandra Sunshine Williams	Palisadians for Peace	California	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Paia	Ann Pitcaithley	Careers in Peacemaking	Hawaii	http://mauipeace.org/archives/old-content/careers-i
Philadelphia	Janine Schwab	American Friends Service Committee Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention	Pennsylvania	http://www.afsc.org
Philadelphia	Jo Ann Zimmerman	Penn Army of None	Pennsylvania	http://www.pennpeace.ning.com
Philadelphia	Ruth Balter	Granny Peace Brigade Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	http://www.grannypeacebrigadephiladelphia.org
Philadelphia	Steve Gulick	Philadelphia War Resisters League	Pennsylvania	http://www.phillywrl.net/
Phoenix	Dolores Martinez	Native CRC	Arizona	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Port Townsend	Liz Rivera Goldstein	Teen Peace Project	Washington	http://www.teenpeace.org/
Portland	J. Grueschow	Military & Draft Counseling Project- War Resisters League	Oregon	http://www.peaceveterans.com/NWM&DC.html
Portland	Matt Guynn	On Earth Peace- Portland	Oregon	http://www.onearthpeace.org/

Poughkeepsie	Fred Nagel	Dutchess Peace Coalition	New York	http://www.dutchesspeace.org/
Rochester	Peter Debes	Rochester Against War	New York	http://www.rochesteragainstwar.org/
Rogue Valley	Don Chapin or Hal Anthony	**Rogue Valley Peace Veterans**	Oregon	http://www.rvpv.org/
Roseburg	Susan Shaffer	Career Alternatives Project	Oregon	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Salem	Emily Loberg	North Salem HS Peace Club	Oregon	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
San Diego	Rick Jahnkow	**Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft (COMD)**	California	http://www.comdsd.org
San Francisco	Edward Hasbrouck	**Resisters.info**	California	http://www.resisters.info
San Francisco	John Lindsay-Poland	National Youth & Militarism Program/American Friends Service Committee	California	http://www.afsc.org/office/san-francisco-ca
San Francisco	Medea Benjamin	CODEPINK Women for Peace	California	http://www.codepink.org
San Francisco	Siri Margerin	Full Picture	California	http://thefullpicture.info/
San Jose	David Ledesma	**One Voice!**	California	http://www.one-voice.info
San Juan	Wanda Colon Cortez	Proyecto Caribeno de Justicia y Paz	Puerto Rico	http://pcjp.blogspot.com/
Santa Barbara	Daniel Seidenberg	Veterans for Peace Chapter 54	California	http://www.vfpsb.org
Santa Cruz	Irene O'Connell	Resource Center for NonviolenceTruth in Recruiting	California	http://rcnv.org/programs/truth-in-recruiting
Santa Rosa	Elizabeth Stinson	Peace & Justice Center of Sonoma County	California	http://www.peaceandjusticesonomaco.org
Seaside	Karen Araujo	Peace Resource Center Seaside	California	https://peacecentral.wordpress.com/
Seattle	John M. Repp	West Seattle Neighbors for Peace and Justice	Washington	http://groups.snowcoalition.org/westseattle
Seattle	Kathy Barker	Garfield HS PTSA	Washington	http://garfieldhs.seattleschools.org/modules/cms/pa
Seattle	Marion Ward	Washington Truth in Recruiting	Washington	http://www.watir.org/
Seattle	Ruth Yarrow	Sound Non-Violent	Washington	http://www.snowcoalition.org/
Shafter	Daniel H. Shubin	Peace Church Challenge	California	http://www.peacehost.net/peacechurch
Silver Spring	Kevin Martin	Peace Action	Maryland	https://www.peaceaction.org/
Silver Spring	Paul Martin	Student Peace Action	Maryland	http://www.studentpeaceaction.org

		Network (SPAN)		
Springfield	Jane Newton	Springfield Peace and Justice	Vermont	http://www.pjcvt.org/what-we-do/peace/
St. Petersburg-Tampa Bay	Dwight Lawton	Veterans for Peace	Florida	http://tampabayvfp.blogspot.com/
Syracuse		Syracuse Peace Council | Military Alternatives Education Project	New York	http://www.peacecouncil.net/programs/military-alter
Tacoma	Michael Collier	Micah Project First United Methodist Church- Tacoma: Washington	Washington	http://www.fumcot.com/index.php?m=3&s=83&c=2
Toledo	Peggy Daly-Masternak	Learning Not Recruiting	Ohio	https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
Traverse City	Tim Keenan	Veterans for Peace - Chapter 50	Michigan	http://www.vfp50.org/
Troy	Steve Saelzler	Veterans for Peace - Chapter 74	Michigan	http://www.vfp74.org/
Tucson	Susan Thorpe | Deborah Livingston	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	Arizona	http://www.tucsonwilpf.org/
Tulsa	Joni Mazer	Tulsa Peace Fellowship	Oklahoma	http://tulsapeacefellowship.ning.com/
Twin Cities	Ty Moore	Youth Against War and Racism	Minnesota	http://yawr-mn.blogspot.com/
Volcano	Catherine Kennedy	Truth 2 Youth	Hawaii	http://www.myspace.com/cakikallas
Walnut Creek	Rick Sterling	Mt. Diablo Peace and Justice Center	California	http://www.mtdpc.org
Washington	John Judge	C.H.O.I.C.E.S. - Committee on High School Options & Information on Careers	District of Columbia	http://www.ratical.org/ratville/JFK/JohnJudge/CHOI
Washington	Maria Santelli	Center on Conscience & War	District of Columbia	http://www.centeronconscience.org
Washington	Phil Jones	Church of the Brethren Washington Office	District of Columbia	http://www.brethren.org
Washington D.C.	Eric Anderson	Yellowcake		https://nnomy.org/index.php/en/content_page/item/
West Bend	Tom Haebig	Peace Seekers of Washington County	Washington	http://thepeaceseekers.blogspot.com/
Wichita	Cathy Benton	Peace and Social Justice Center of South Central	Kansas	http://www.wichitapeace.org/
Wilmington	Sally Milbury-Steen	DE Pacem in Terris	Delaware	http://www.depaceminterris.org

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Project 2025 – Department of Defense Notes – February/March 2025

March 12, 2025 / Libby Frank / NNOMY Report - The report opens with a comment on the nature of war which they warn has become too dependent on technology. From the report: "the most powerful weapon systems will remain the six inches between the ears of our citizens and the strength of their hearts and content of their souls."

It also points (several times) to China as the biggest threat. It also notes the threat of Russia. It refers to the invasion of Ukraine as "Vladimir Putin's brutal war in Ukraine" which seems to conflict with Trump's view.

It notes that weapon sales are way down and recommends ending informal congressional notification of such sales. The review process is not required; it is a practice by which the Department of State provides a preview of prospective arms transfers before Congress is formally notified.

What will be the ramification of this change? Shouldn't arms sales get Congressional review? What if Trump decides to negotiate a big sale to Russia as a tradeoff for something he wants?

DOD Personnel

It opens the section by talking about how our military makes extraordinary sacrifice which is not appreciated by the American public. Also "Young civilians who would thrive in a military environment are disenfranchised when educators and influencers discourage them from learning about military service and preparing for the honor of wearing America's uniform." (I guess that's us.}

Rescue Recruitment and Retention

1. Appoint a Special Assistant to the President who will maintain liaison with Congress, DOD, and all other interested parties on the issue of recruiting and retention.

Need to find out who is appointed.

2. Improve recruiting by suspending the use of the recently introduced MHS Genesis system that uses private medical records of potential recruits at Military Entrance Processing Stations (MEPS), creating unnecessary delays and unwarranted rejections.

This is what I found on MHS:

MHS GENESIS is the electronic health record for the Military Health System (MHS). It is the first Department of Defense-wide electronic health record to be used by all military treatment facilities. The system provides a single, common record of medical and dental information, connecting healthcare teams across the DOD, VA, DHS, and private sector providers. By the time that MHS GENESIS is fully implemented throughout all of the DoD, patients will be able to receive care from any military treatment facility knowing that their health records will follow them. Link (archived)

I fail to understand why this would cause delays. More likely they want to eliminate it because it gives the DoD a complete picture of the recruit's health status. In general there is an advantage of having all of an individual's health records in one place.

3. Improve military recruiters' access to secondary schools and require completion of the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery(ASVAB)—the military entrance examination—by all students in schools that receive federal funding.

By requiring every high school student to take the ASVAB this will not only give the recruiters access to contact information but allows the recruiter to customize their approach. The ASVAB is supposed to be a career evaluation exam. It's supposed to tell the student what they're best suited for. I can see the recruiter using that information to develop a "pitch"; to create a more direct and intentional sales pitch.

4. Encourage Members of Congress to provide time to military recruiters during each town-hall session in their congressional districts.

Could they be forced to give equal time to peace recruiters?

5. Increase the number of Junior ROTC programs in secondary schools

I believe there is a limit of 4,000 JROTC units. What would be needed in order to eliminate the limit and/or raise it? An act of Congress?

Under 10 U.S.C. §2031, as amended in 2023 (P.L. 118-31 §551), DOD is required to maintain not fewer than 3,400 and not more than **4,000 units**.

Restore standards

Expel recruits with gender dysphoria. Make physical fitness requirements consistent with the job.

I assume that means the standards will be lower for a desk job vs a foot soldier.

Restore faith in the force

They note that only 45% have faith in the military; down from 70% in 2018. But the ways they see to restore faith make no sense:

1. Strengthen support for chaplains
2. Codify language so military officers know that their primary responsibility is building the force; not social engineering agenda. (*"Social engineering?")*
3. Reinstate service members who refused to get a COVID vaccine
4. Eliminate Marxist indoctrination and critical race theory and abolish DEI. *(Seriously? Do they even know the fundamentals of Marxism?)*
5. Restrict the use of social media
6. Audit the course content at military academies to remove Marxist indoctrination.
7. Remove policies that allow transgender to serve

How do ANY of these things restore American's faith in the military? People's faith has been shaken by the increasing problems with sexual assault, PTSD, on-base violence, etc.

Selective Service (from Edward Hasbrouck)

Heritage Foundation project wants to weaponize Selective Service registration against immigrants

According to an exclusive report by Fox News, the Oversight Project of the Heritage Foundation is filing Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA) requests with the Selective Service System and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) for records of how many "illegal immigrants" may have violated US law by failing to register with the SSS for a possible future military draft. The FOIA request alleges that, "there is widespread criminal non-compliance by such aliens".

Failing to register with the Selective Service System is a crime only if it is "knowing and willful", which it usually isn't. Most immigrants are unaware, until the question comes up on an application for naturalization, that they are supposed to sign up for a possible U.S. draft even if they aren't U.S. citizens.

The Project 2025 playbook doesn't explicitly mention Selective Service registration or the possibility of a military draft. President Biden never appointed a Director of Selective Service, leaving the SSS under an Acting Director throughout his term. President Trump has not yet appointed a Director of the SSS for his second term – leaving the same holdover Acting Director in charge, for now – and has yet to make any statement with respect to Selective Service registration or a possible draft.

Multiple sources cited in the above report

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Biographical Notes

Kathy Barker

Kathy Barker received her B.A. in Biology and English, and her M.A. and Ph.D. in Microbiology, from various branches of the University of Massachusetts. She did her postdoctoral work in the laboratory of Viral Oncology at Rockefeller University and was an Assistant Professor in the Laboratory of Cell Physiology and Immunology at Rockefeller University. She is now based in Seattle, where she writes and gives workshops on various aspects of running a lab.

Michael Lujan Bevacqua

Michael Lujan Bevacqua, PhD, graduated from the University of Guam with a BA in art and literature in 2001 and an MA in Micronesian studies in 2004. He completed an MA in ethnic studies from the University of California, San Diego in 2007 and was conferred a PhD degree in 2010. He currently is an instructor of Chamorro Studies at the University of Guam. Bevacqua's research deals with the impact of colonization on Chamorros in Guam and theorizes the possibilities for the decolonization of their lands and lives. In 2001 he led a faculty task force in successfully creating a Chamorro Studies BA program at the University of Guam. He is a passionate advocate for the revitalization of the Chamorro language, and has translated manga comic books, rock songs and even Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" into Chamorro.

Bevacqua co-organized several conferences and events both on Guam and in California.

Most notable are the first ever Human Rights Watch Film Festival in Guam and California

(2003), the conferences "Famoksaiyan: Decolonizing Chamorro Histories, Identities and Futures" (2006), "Ghosts, Monsters and the Dead" (2007), and Famoksaiyan, "Our Time to Paddle Forward" Summit on Native Self-Determination and Decolonization (2007).

In 2004 and 2006, Bevacqua received the Tan Chong Padula Humanitarian Award from the southern California non-profit organization Guam Communications Network for his outstanding commitment and service to the Chamorro community. He is a board member of the Chamorro Cultural Center in San Diego and in October of 2007 he testified before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations on the political status of Guam.

Pat Elder

Pat Elder is a past member of the Steering Committee of the National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth, (NNOMY). Pat is currently involved in a national ASVAB Option 8 campaign

at http://studentprivacy.org. Pat's work has prominently appeared in NSA documents tracking domestic peace groups.

Maximilian Forte

Maximilian C. Forte has an educational background in Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Spanish, International Relations, and Anthropology. He lived and studied for seven years in Trinidad & Tobago, for four years in Australia, and for three years in the U.S. He is a dual Italian-Canadian citizen, and had previously achieved Permanent Resident status in Trinidad & Tobago. His primary website is that of the Zero Anthropology Project.

Max is the author of Ruins of Absence, Presence of Caribs: (Post)Colonial Representations of Aboriginality in Trinidad and Tobago (University Press of Florida, 2005), the editor of Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival And Revival

(Peter Lang New York, 2006) and Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century (Peter Lang New York, 2010). His most recent book is Slouching Towards Sirte: NATO's War on Libya and Africa (Baraka Books, 2012). Due in 2013 is a collection he edited and in which he has three chapters: Who Is An Indian? Race, Place, and the Politics of Indigeneity in the Americas (University of Toronto Press, 2013). His other publications are listed here.

Max Forte teaches courses in the area of Political Anthropology, with related courses and seminars on the New Imperialism, Indigenous Resurgence, and Globalization, and additional courses on the Caribbean, Decolonizing Anthropology, New Directions in Anthropology, media ethnographies, visual anthropology, and in the past, cyberspace ethnography. As listed here, he has won a number of grants and awards, including two awards for excellence in teaching.

Henry A. Giroux

Henry A. Giroux currently holds the Global TV Network Chair Professorship at McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department. His most recent books include:

Youth in a Suspect Society (Palgrave, 2009); Politics After Hope: Obama and the Crisis of Youth, Race, and Democracy (Paradigm, 2010); Hearts of Darkness: Torturing Children in the War on Terror (Paradigm, 2010); The Mouse that Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence (co-authored with Grace Pollock, Rowman and Littlefield, 2010); Zombie

Politics and Culture in the Age of Casino Capitalism (Peter Lang, 2011); Henry Giroux on

Critical Pedagogy (Continuum, 2011). His newest books: Education and the Crisis of Public

Values (Peter Lang) and Twilight of the Social: Resurgent Publics in the Age of Disposability (Paradigm Publishers) will be published in 2012). Giroux is also a member of Truthout's Board of Directors. His website is www.henryagiroux.com.

Matt Guynn

Matt Guynn has been actively involved with Training for Change since the age of 19.Since 2001, Matt has worked with the church-based nonprofit On Earth Peace, which offers leadership

development for faith-rooted efforts to stop violence and build reconciliation, where he provides a special emphasis on nonviolent social change.

He previously worked as co-coordinator of training for Christian Peacemaker Teams, preparing people to carry out nonviolent direct action and unarmed accompaniment in conflict zones, and served as an unarmed bodyguard in Chiapas, Mexico.

In 2010-2011, Matt consulted with both Greenpeace USA and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), providing skill-building resources on topics including facilitation and nonviolent direct action.

In his home of Portland, OR, Matt is a member of the strategy team for Bus Riders Unite's Campaign for a Fair Transfer, an organizing initiative of OPAL Environmental Justice Oregon, a low-income and people of color-led organization.

Matt's leadership is rooted in direct mentorship from women and men involved in the US Civil Rights movement, the pacifist and anti-war movements of the WWII and Vietnam eras, the feminist and LGBTQ movements, and the Quaker-inspired Movement for a New Society, which through its Life Centers across the United States inspired and equipped generations of environmental, anti-nuclear, and other activists.

Matt received an M.A. in International Peace Studies from the University of Notre Dame (1996) and an M.A. in Theology from Bethany Theological Seminary (2003).

He is licensed to the ministry in the Church of the Brethren, which has a three-hundred year history of opposing war and violence / standing for abundant life for all people, regardless of their background. Matt lives with his wife and partner, Sarah Kinsel.

Amy Hagopian

Amy Hagopian directs the UW's Community Oriented Public Health Practice program, in the Department of Health Services, which trains MPH students using problem based learning. Her courses are in evaluation, policy and international health. She also conducts research on international health workforce issues, especially the area of health worker migration from low-income countries to wealthy countries.

She serves on various institutional service committees, and was an organizer of the University of Basrah sister university project (since 2005).

Before entering the global health arena, Hagopian worked for 15 years in the area of rural health and community development, traveling the five-state region served by the University of Washington School of Medicine. She focused on strengthening and expanding rural health systems, as she worked with administrators, boards and communities in the settings of hospitals, clinics and public health departments.

Hagopian is also active in her professional association, the American Public Health Association, where she serves as nominating chair to the International Health Section. She is also active in her own local community, where she serves as a board member of College Access Now, which works

to assist first-generation students gain admission to college. She also works to eliminate military recruitment in high schools.

Scott Harding

Scott Harding, Ph.D., is Associate Dean for Academic Affairs and Associate Professor of Community Organization. Scott teaches courses in community organization, macro foundation practice, and teaches a special topics course on war, militarism and imperialism. His areas of specialization include community organization and practice, poverty, social problems and social welfare policy, political advocacy, and war, militarism, and imperialism.

Seth Kershner

Seth Kershner is a counter-recruiter who completed his B.A. in Philosophy at Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts and his master's from the Simmons College Graduate School of Library & Information Science. His research interests include critical pedagogy; liberation theology; and peace history, particularly the history of counter-recruitment organizing in the United States.

His reviews and interviews have been published in such journals as Z Magazine, Counterpoise, and Spare Change News. Seth also does pro bono translating services for the Italian magazine PeaceReporter. He is the author (with Scott Harding) of "'Just Say No': Organizing Against Militarism in Public Schools," which was published in the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare. For the past decade, he and Harding have been among a handful of researchers investigating the counter-recruitment movement.

Rick Jahnkow

Rick Jahnkow works for two San Diego-based anti-militarist organizations, the Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities and the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft. He can be reached at: RJahnkow@aol.com – http://projectyano.org – http://comdsd.org

Jorge Mariscal

Dr. Mariscal received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Irvine. His research areas include early modern Iberian culture and the origins of Western racism, contemporary Chicano/a history and culture, and the role of Mexican Americans in the U.S. military. He authored Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975 and edited Aztlán and Viet Nam. *"I have written on the history of Marshall College and was honored to know several of the college's founders. I believe strongly in Lumumba-Zapata College's vision of social justice, history, and activism and was eager to reshape the DOC curriculum so that the original vision might be made meaningful for students in the 21st century."*

He has worked with Project YANO for many years as a counter-recruitment activist and has written extensively on the subject of militarism in relation to the Latino Community and immigration. Visit his blog at: jorgemariscal.blogspot.com His University website is located at: http://literature.ucsd.edu/people/faculty/jmariscal.html

NNOMY Steering Committee & Staff

As of May 07, 2023:

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Pat Alviso - Military Families Speak Out (MFSO) - National Coordinator, Long Beach, California

Tori Bateman- American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Office of Public Policy and Advocacy, Washington D.C.

Rachel Bruhnke - Codepink - San Pedro, California

Kate Connell - Truth in Recruitment - Santa Barbara, California

Barbara Harris - Granny Peace Brigade - New York City, New York

Rick Jahnkow - Project on Youth and Non-Military Opportunities (Project YANO) - San Diego, California

Siri Margerin - Before Enlisting - San Francisco, California

Joanne Sheehan - War Resisters League/New England Regional Office - Norwich, Connecticut

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